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ELEGY AND IAMBUS

WITH THE

ANACREONTEA

I

PART I

ELEGIAC POETS FROM CALLINUS TO CRITIAS

Κηλείται δ' ὅτις ἔστιν ἀοιδαῖς
ARCHILOCHUS.

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

BEING THE REMAINS OF ALL THE
GREEK ELEGIAC AND IAMBIC POETS

FROM

CALLINUS TO CRATES

EXCEPTING THE CHOLIAMBIC WRITERS

WITH THE

ANACREONTEA

IN TWO VOLUMES

NEWLY EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

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VOLUME I



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PREFACE

THIS book completes, with the exception of Pindar and the Choliambists, the text and translation of what Bergk, in his great edition, called the Greek Lyric Poets. Had I known when Dr. Loeb published my edition of the Melic Poets that the Fragments of Greek Elegiac and Iambic Poetry were to be assigned me as well, these two volumes would have appeared, under Bergk's use of the word *Lyric*, as part of *Lyra Graeca*. The chief advantage of that arrangement would have been seen in an undivided Account of Greek 'Lyric' Poetry. As it is, the reader of the later book who wants more than text and translation must go to the third volume of the earlier for most of what the editor has to say on the Elegiac and Iambic poetry of the 7th Century, for the omission of this would have made the earlier Account lopsided, and yet it could not very well be treated in detail a second time.

In the arrangement of the Fragments it has been found possible this time, with but few exceptions, to follow the numeration of Bergk, and where he fails, of Diels' *Vorsokratiker*. The Tables of Comparative Numeration at the end of either volume give these exceptions as well as the numeration of the new Teubner edition. A turn-table for the

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edition of Hiller-Crusius, which has been superseded now for some years, seemed no longer necessary. The numbering of the Inscriptions, which are a selection,¹ is my own. For them references to Cougny and Kaibel will be found in the text. As in *Lyra Graeca*, the references are intended to be exhaustive, modern, and correct, but in so wide a field there must be mistakes. The notes, as before, give in most cases all the comment needed; where they fail him, the reader should consult the Indices.

With the one exception of the *Theognidea*, all the fragments of the Elegiac and Iambic poets but a few preserved in papyri and inscriptions have come down to us as quotations, and have no other textual history than that of the authors who quote them. For this it must here suffice to refer the reader to O. Hoffmann's *Griechische Dialekte*, which in this respect has not been superseded, and to the introduction to Professor Pearson's *Fragments of Sophocles*. The MSS of the *Theognidea* fall into two classes: first A, known as Mutinensis, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, *suppl grec* no. 388, of the 10th Century; and secondly the Deteriores, of which the best is O, Vaticanus 915, of the 13th Century.² All were collated by Bekker in 1815; A was also collated very carefully by Professor Hudson-Williams for his edition of 1910. In the critical notes to the present edition 'some mss,' 'other mss,' or 'mss also'

¹ This, of course, belies the title of the book, but to include all the pre-Alexandrian metrical inscriptions, good, bad, and indifferent, was impracticable.

² K, Venetus Marcianus 522, Cent XV, is regarded as a copy of O, but has a good reading at l 169.

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means some or all of the *Deteriores*, and 'some mss (A),' 'most mss (A),' or 'mss also (A)' means A and one or more of the *Deteriores*. In A the Greek text is in parts accompanied by an interlinear Latin translation which is variously ascribed to the 12th and the 14th Centuries. With a few negligible exceptions in certain of the *Deteriores*, the passages are not separated by the scribes. The only MS. which contains Book ii is A. That we possess only part of Book i is shown, first by ll. 1221-6, three passages which occur only in Stobaeus, and ll. 1229-30, a fragment found only in Athenaeus, and secondly by the total of lines given by Suidas, 2800, against our total of 1387. The early history of the collection is discussed below, but it should be added here that our *Deteriores*, which do not contain Book ii, cannot go back independently of A to the half-bowdlerised edition which seems to have been used by Athenian schoolmasters after about 427 B.C., because ll. 1157-8, preserved by Stobaeus, are omitted from all our MSS., including A. The absence of Book ii from the *Deteriores*, if it is due to moral scruples, must be due to those of a later and probably Christian scribe¹.

Since Bergk's day finds of papyri have increased our knowledge of the two Books of Mimnermus and given us new fragments of Archilochus, Tyrtaeus, and Solon; an inscribed potsherd has added three lines of Antimachus; and inscriptions have not only contributed to the earliest self-portrait—but one—

¹ Cf. the rather confused notice in Suidas, quoted on p. 217, where the edition known to one of his authorities seems to have been a descendant of one of the copies which were in vogue before the love-poems were segregated.

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that we possess, that of Archilochus,¹ but have given us, in Ion of Samos, a new poet. The Anonymous Inscriptions, mostly chosen from Kaibel or Cougny, or both, have been included because many of them deserve a place beside the best of the inscriptions which have come down under their authors' names.

As before, in cases of doubt I have not accepted the ruling of other editors without consideration, and in many passages both of the texts and the contexts have found it necessary to put forward suggestions of my own. Where 'restoration' has been called for I have followed the principles and methods described in the preface to *Lyra Graeca*, with the necessary modification for inscriptions taken from stones.² Such emendations and restorations are marked *E* in the notes. Particularly hazardous restorations are marked by *e g.* (i e. *exempli gratia*) or an upright line.

My obligations to some of the scholars who have collected, emended, and interpreted the 'Lyric' Fragments or their contexts were acknowledged in my earlier book. These obligations are now doubled, and I would add to the special list, from among the many names recorded in my notes, those of H. I. Bell, Camerarius (Cam), Casaubon (Cas.), Crusius, Hiller von Gartringen, E. Lobel, Lucas, van der Mey, H. J. M. Milne, R. B. Onians, la Roche, Rubensohn, Sitzler, and the authors of the works mentioned in the Bibliography. Besides these, some of whom are beyond their reach, my thanks are due

¹ See fr. 114 and the Appendix to vol. II.

² This was unfortunately impossible for Inscr. 38 and 40, which can no longer be found.

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to the Director of the University Library at Strasbourg for supplying me with a photograph of the Archilochus Papyrus, to Mr. W. A. Heurtley and Mr. H. G. G. Payne of the British School at Athens for helping me to take a 'squeeze' of the Archilochus Monument, to Mr. A. M. Woodward and Dr. Werner Peek for a second squeeze of the same stone and help with two other inscriptions, to Mr. E. Harrison for lending me pamphlets on Theognis, and to Professor A. B. Cook, who with other Cambridge scholars has given me not only the aid of specialist advice but the encouragement of friendly appreciation. And I do not forget others who have suffered me gladly, the general editors, and the staffs of the printers and publishers, of what must, from their various points of view, have seemed to them a particularly troublesome book.

J. M. EDMONDS.

CAMBRIDGE,
17th September, 1931.

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¹ This reached me too late for me to profit by it.

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AN ACCOUNT OF GREEK ELEGIAC AND IAMBIC POETRY

IN their childhood the Elegiac and Iambic, like all other Greek poetry, were ritual song-dance, the one a lament and the other something in the nature of invective, at first perhaps a magic curse. In their youth they lost the dance, which was a hieratic element, and became secular—that is, in the end, mere means to entertainment—distinguished from the earlier-secularised Epic both by their use for shorter and more ‘occasional’ themes and by their being more often sung than recited. In their early prime (say, the 7th and earlier 6th Centuries) they came to be separated from the Melic or ‘tune-poetry’ as it was afterwards called, as being non-Epic poetry of recitation, though Elegiacs could still be sung, as they always had been, to the flutes, and Iambics still be recited rhythmically to a kind of lyre. In their later prime (roughly, the late 6th and the 5th and 4th Centuries) both appear to have finally become divorced from music;¹ Iambic became the poetry most nearly allied to prose, being used not only for lampoons and the like, but for the speeches in the drama; and Elegiac, though

¹ this result was doubtless accelerated in the case of Elegy by the necessity of having a second performer; a singer cannot accompany himself on the flute

ORIGINS

sometimes used for longer poems, was the ordinary form chosen for short recitation-poems or 'Songs of the Table' and for inscriptions, the word *epigram* or 'inscription' eventually coming to be applied to any short Elegiac poem. All three metres, Epic, Elegiac, and Iambic, are found in 6th-Century inscriptions, but Elegiac predominates even then, probably because it arose from the lament and the most commonly needed type of inscription was the lament-made-permanent, the epitaph. The absence of Melic metre from the earlier inscriptions is due to its far longer association with music and the dance

For more detailed treatment of the early history of these forms of poetry and the reasons for the views just stated, with some account of CALLINUS, ARCHILOCHUS, TYRTAEUS, MIMNERMUS and other poets of the 7th Century, the reader is referred to the Epilogue of *Lyra Graeca*, to which this book indeed belongs if the word *Lyric* be used, as Bergk used it, in its wider sense. Here it must suffice to add that in the middle and end of that wonderful 7th Century, when the Greek spirit first became self-conscious and its literary expression personal, we have the *Iambic* poetry—and this includes Trochaic—of invective and improvisation, first raised to art-status¹ and secularised by the Ionians, its great exponents being Archilochus of Paros and Semonides of Amorgos; and the *Elegiac* poetry of lament and

¹ the use of this phrase involves a useful but unscientific distinction between folk-poetry and the poetry of professional poets who competed in the song-contests of public festivals such as the Dorian Carneia (see particularly *Lyra Graeca* III p. 669)

THE 7TH CENTURY

exhortation—and sometimes of narrative—, still used hieratically, or at any rate for purposes of state, by Clonas and Tyrtaeus at Sparta, but secularised and turned to personal and ‘occasional’ uses in the less conservative Ionian communities by Polymnestus, Archilochus, Callinus and Semonides, and so employed by Mimnermus of Colophon, Asiuss the Epic poet of Samos, and the Athenians Tyrtaeus and Solon. Solon, who belongs to the 6th as well as to the 7th Century, is at once the first truly Athenian poet—for Tyrtaeus wrote for Sparta—and the last of the great non-Melic writers of both Elegiac and Iambic verse.

Before passing on to the 6th Century it would be well to review the uses of Elegiac and Iambic poetry at this date. Apart from the occasional use of the Elegiac distich for themes earlier considered proper subjects for the Epic hexameter, such as Callinus’ *Nome to Zeus*¹ and Semonides’ *History of Samos*, these kinds of poetry were used, like the contemporary Aeolian Monody of Sappho and Alcaeus, as Songs of the Table,² that is after-dinner songs—drinking-songs, lampoons, songs of war and politics, songs of welcome or consolation, accounts of travel, moralisings, eulogies, love-songs,—sung or recited by the guests over the wine or else after the company had broken up and went revelling through the streets and lovers sought their mistresses. As the Epic developed out of the Hymn through the ‘renowns of men’ of which Homer tells, so all these Songs of the Table, Melic and non-Melic alike, are probably akin on the one side to the ‘renowns of men’ and on the other to the traditional Libation-

¹ title not quite certain, cf. fr. 2 n ² this term is modern

THE 6TH CENTURY

Songs sung to Zeus and the Heroes and the Paean sung to Apollo—with an added strain, for the Elegiac, from the lament, and for the Iambic, from improvised invective. To this community of theme and occasion we may ascribe the mingling of the two kinds of metre, the one in duple time the other in triple, which we find in Archilochus and Anacreon—and in their imitator Horace—, and which is perhaps not unconnected with the growing use of both metres for recitation rather than song. Kept apart by their different forms of musical accompaniment, they would more easily combine once this accompaniment had become optional

In the 6th Century, Greek poets, though distinguished from them by Solon, by tradition were still prophets, holy teachers of men, corresponding in many ways to the medicine-men of primitive societies. The Spartans had long been in the habit of sending for foreign poets when they were in any public trouble, plague for instance, or political unrest, and that is why at the bidding of the oracle Tyrtaeus was fetched from Athens to lead the Spartans in the Second Messenian War. Tyrtaeus was lame and a schoolmaster, a schoolmaster doubtless for two very good reasons, because he was lame—as lame boys nowadays become tailors or cobblers¹—and because, we may believe, it was commonly part of a poet's function to teach not only men but boys. This was natural enough at a time when music and poetry were one art,² and in a country where 'music,' as that art was called, was part of every citizen's education. It is not of

¹ compare the blind bard Demodocus and the tradition that Homer was blind ² Suidas' authority described Tyrtaeus as 'a writer of elegy and a fluteplayer'

SOLON

course certain that all poets were schoolmasters at this epoch, but probably most of them earned their living by chorus-training if not by teaching music to individuals. This traditional conception of the poet's place in life as that of teacher and prophet accounts, for instance, for the choice of poets to lead colonies, like Archilochus in the 7th Century, or to make peace between opposing armies, like Simonides in the 5th; it accounts for the oracle's recommendation of Tyrtaeus as a general; and it also accounts for the reception of Solon's Elegy exhorting his countrymen to persevere in the war for Salamis, if not for his being made lawgiver and the acceptance of his ordinances.¹ Nowadays we are apt to look upon poets as 'cranks.' Our civilisation may well be the worse for it, but we should never dream of entrusting the British Empire to a Shelley—or a Shaw. Solon is an outstanding example of the man of vision not only getting his chance, but proving his practical worth. He came as near Plato's ideal of the philosopher-king as was possible in the days before there were philosophers. What strikes the modern reader most about him as he reveals himself in the few fragments of his political poetry is his *quiet* self-confidence.² It was a bad job, but he has made the best of it, and he counts on his scheme's being given a fair trial. Was he a poet-statesman or a statesman-poet? The above considerations go far to make this a question beside the mark, but if it be asked the answer lies in the

¹ Solon strengthened his hand by summoning a professional prophet, Epimenides, from Crete
² it is interesting to compare Signor Mussolini's *Autobiography*

THE THEOGNIDEA

great poem beginning ' Splendid Children of Memory and Olympian Zeus '

In 586 B.C. there was a ' boom,' as we should call it, in flute-playing, reflected by the inclusion of competitions in Flute-song¹ and Flute-playing in the Pythian Games, and in Alcaeus' mention, in his *Hymn to Apollo*, of the flute as an instrument of the worship of the God traditionally connected with the lyre. This in all probability means the ' official recognition ' of the spread of the use of Elegiac verse for other themes than lamentation from the Ionian communities to the mainland of Greece—a late recognition, for Tyrtaeus had used the Elegiac for his Spartan songs of war and politics in the 7th Century, and Solon for his exhortations to his countrymen at the beginning of the 6th; but both these poets were Athenians, and it is natural that an Ionian fashion should spread to Greece Proper by way of ' Ionian ' Athens, though she had no Ionian prisoners-of-war to sing Ionian songs to their captors as she doubtless had Lesbian—at the time of the war for Sigeum—to sing the songs of Sappho and Alcaeus.²

About the year 550 flourished the famous ' Gnostic ' or moralising-hortatory poet THEOGNIS of Megara, under whose name we possess, apart from Pindar, our only medieval manuscripts of any Melic, Elegiac, or Iambic poet. This book, or

¹ this term, a literal translation of *αὐλωδία*, is used as a convenient abbreviation of ' song sung to the accompaniment of the flutes ' ² cf. *L G* III p. 628, n. 4, the influence of

slaves, once citizens of other communities, Greek or Barbarian, in spreading foreign songs was probably considerable, among other things they were *παιδαγωγοί* and nurses, and mixed freely with the hired labourers

THE PROBLEM

rather these two Books, of which the second survives only in one MS, have been the subject of much controversy. Did Theognis write all, or most, of these poems himself? Are they a collection of his own work and others' made by him or a later compiler? If by a later compiler, when? These and kindred questions can be answered only after sifting the internal evidence of matter and style; and unfortunately *no answer can be as certain as we should like it to be*, because we have too little other poetry of this kind to make a perfect standard of comparison. First, the inclusion of passages ascribed elsewhere to Tyrtaeus, Mimnermus and Solon, who lived *before* Theognis, is *prima facie* evidence for a collection. Secondly, the book contains a passage elsewhere ascribed to Euenus, who, though not quite certainly the friend of Sociates, must in any case have lived *after* Theognis. Thirdly, there is clearly nothing here which must have been written after about 400 B.C. Fourthly, there was a democratic song-book in use in 5th-Century Athens called *Athenian Drinking-Songs*,¹ and an oligarchical counterpart of this may well have been required at various periods there between 550 and 400; in Athens, for whatever its vogue elsewhere, its vogue there, as the history of Greek texts shows, is of prime importance for its survival. A considerable number of the poems are addressed either to Cyrnus or to Poly-paides. Apart from their coming together in poems 38, 53 and 183,² the Greek custom of addressing a person alternatively by his patronymic makes it certain that these are two names of one man. To

¹ *Lyra Graeca* III. pp. 560, 563 n 1, prob collected after the Persian War (Reitz, of the hymn to Pan) ² for convenience I refer to the poems by the number of the first line

THE THEOGNIDEA

this Cynus son of Polypaus someone who calls himself Theognis of Megara, after four short introductory poems, dedicates his work, with a reference to a 'seal' or 'signature' which probably refers to the word Cynus or to the words Cynus and Polypaides, as who should say 'Of the poems here presented those which are so addressed are my own work.' At any rate we have here a starting-point for our enquiry. If on examination we find that the Cynus-Polypaides poems¹ (*which I call KII*) have characteristics not shared by the others (*which, excluding a few exceptional poems besides those ascribed elsewhere to Tyrtaeus, etc., I call O*), we shall have an indication, not perhaps that all, but that at least some considerable part of O is by other hands than that or those which wrote KII. In the course of our examination we may also find answers to these questions: Is KII of Theognis' date? and What date or dates are to be assigned to O?

Before we begin we must dispose of the four poems which besides the passages ascribed to Tyrtaeus, etc., I have excluded from class O. Three of these are addressed to one Simonides (467, 667, 1345). They are connected not only by this vocative, but by the conjunction οὐνεκα or τοῦνεκα, which occurs in each of them and only once elsewhere in the book (853 and the repetition 1038a); one of them, too, has the only example of ἴσος with the iota short, and, what is paralleled only twice (93 and 1385), the Attic ἄν for ἑάν. One of them contains a line ascribed elsewhere to Euenus. We can hardly go wrong in assigning them all to him.² Another passage, 903, I have

¹ I include 1-18 (5-10 with hesitation) ² see p. 18, here, as generally throughout, I disregard resemblance of thought

DIFFERENCE OF AUTHORSHIP

omitted as palpably late.¹ I have grouped the relevant tests under five heads:

(1) *Metre* —Epic Corruption² of *καί* is barely half as frequent in O as it is in KΠ, the proportion of Trochaic to Dactylic Corruption³ (other than *καί*) is roughly 1 3 in O and 1 : 5 in KΠ, Elision between the two halves of the Pentameter (other than that of *δέ, γέ, τὲ*) is twice as frequent in O as it is in KΠ; Anapaestic rhythm in the second half of the Pentameter (e.g. *ὦν μεγάλη δύναμις*) occurs only about half as often in O as it does in KΠ; Masculine Caesura in the 3rd foot of the Hexameter occurs in one line in 2 76 in O, in one line in 2 14 in KΠ; *ν ἐφελκυστικόν* 'makes position' twice as often in KΠ as in O; the following are peculiar to O —Spondees in 1st and 5th foot of Hexameter (4 exx.), Spondees in 1st, 2nd, and 4th (12), Spondees in 2nd, 3rd, and 4th (2), Vowel remaining short before *φρ*, externally (4), internally (4), Nouns in *-iη* (9). (ii) *Vocabulary a. Verbs, Nouns, and Adjectives*:—Oα (that is, O in Bk. 1) contains a number of 'convivial' words, most of which would not be expected to occur, and do not occur, in Oβ (that is O in Bk. 11), but which also are almost all of them absent from KΠ *αὐλέω, αὐλός* (2), *αὐλητήρ* (6), *αὐλητής θωρήσσω* (5), *μεθύω* (7), *μέθυσις, νήφω* (4), *οἶνος* (16), *οἶνοβαρέω, οἶνοχοέω, πίνω* (21 *plus* 4 non-convivial uses), *πόσις* (3 *plus* 1 non-convivial), *τερπνός* (4), *τέρπομαι* (9), *τερπωλή* (2), *τέρψις*; against these KΠ has one example each of *πίνω* and *αὐλίσκος*, both non-convivial, other differences are these. O has *ἄπας* and *πᾶς* in the proportion of 1 : 9, KΠ only *πᾶς* but, proportionately to its length, about twice as often, O (which is 3½ times as long as KΠ) has *δίκαιος* 18 times, KΠ only once, *φρήν* occurs 5 times in O, not at all in KΠ, though *φρένες* occurs equally in both (O 13, KΠ 4); *πολλάκις* 3 times in O, not at all in KΠ, but *πολλάκι* equally in both (O 8, KΠ 2); besides any mentioned above, the following words are peculiar to O *ἄφρων* (8), *βασιλεύς* (4), *βασιλῆιός, ἐπίσταμαι* (8), *ἦβη* (10), *ἡμερόεις* (5), *λῶιον* or *λῶον* (5), *λῶστος, μέτρον* (6), *νήπιος* (4), *ὄλβιος* (6), *ὄλβος* (2), *πανόλβιος, ὁμοίος* (6). *b Adverbs and Particles* —*δή* occurs twice as often in O as in KΠ (21 O, 3 KΠ), the following are peculiar to O. *ἄρα* (5), *ἀτάρ* (3), *γάρ τοι* (6), *γέ* (14), *ἤδη* (8),

¹ see below, p. 13 ² the shortening of a final long vowel or diphthong before an initial vowel ³ corruption is called trochaic after —, dactylic after — —

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μάλα (12), μάλλον (3), ὁμως (3), οὐκέτι and οὐ ἔτι (10). (iii) *Syniota* —O has 9 exx of ἡμέτερος = ἐμός, ΚΠ one doubtful ex. (l 1102), O has 3 exx of εἰ with subjunctive to 10 of ἦν (and two ἄν), in ΚΠ the proportion is 5 4, the following constructions are peculiar to O . πρὶν with Infinitive (5), ὥστε with Infinitive (6), καίπερ or καὶ περ with Participle (6), καί with Participle (7), ἄν or κέν with Past Indicative (5) (iv) *Forms of Words* —Genitive of 1st Declension nouns in -ης, O has 'Αἶδαο (2), 'Αἶδεω (3), 'Αἶδος, 'Αἶδου, Βορέω, Αἰολίδεω, Εὐρώτα (2), whereas ΚΠ has 'Αἶδαο only, Genitive Plural of 1st Declension, O has -ῶν 7 times to -έων twice, ΚΠ only -έων (2), 2nd Person Middle, O has -εαι 8 times and -η twice, ΚΠ only -η (3), the following are peculiar to O τοί = οἱ (3), ἔγεντο = ἐγένετο (4), ὁππότε or ὁπότεν (5) (v) *Style* —Appositional Construction of the type Κύπρον περικαλλέα νῆσον is peculiar to O (6) except once in a Σιμωνίδη poem (1346) ¹

These considerations, *taken together*, are sufficient to show that O contains a large proportion of matter of *different* date and authorship to the bulk of ΚΠ. Let us now take the considerations which suggest that O contains some *earlier* poetry than ΚΠ

Here we need a standard of reference. After taking over thirty tests of metre and style,² I have found seven or eight which appear, despite the paucity of our material, to indicate fairly definite trends of development in Elegiac book-poetry. These will generally be found to have their counterpart in the Inscriptions recorded in books and in the selection printed below of those which survive only on stones, but my figures do not include these, because in the one case ascription is often doubtful, and in the other, though the date may be clear from the form of the letters, it is not always certain that their authors were worthy to rank with the poets of literature. Of these seven trends only three, of which the surest, I think, is the frequency of the Masculine Caesura in

¹ note, too, that in 823 ΚΠ approves tyrannicide, while in 1181 O deprecates it ² some, though not all, of these have been used before, but in all cases except the occurrence of Spondees (see p 9), where the statistics are those of La Roche, my results are based on independent investigation

EARLIER AND LATER POEMS

the 3rd foot of the Hexameter ¹—a rhythm naturally avoided because it made the Hexameter too like the Pentameter—, appear to continue after about 400 B.C. In respect of the others, the archaism which seems to have set in towards the end of the 5th Century in Elegiac Poetry as in the other arts entirely clouds the issue after that date ² The numbers of the lines available for each century are . VII 519, VI 115, V 147, IV 27 The weak point is IV, where many of the tests are vitiated by paucity of material

The relevant trends here are four

Century	VII ³	VI	V	IV	O	KII	
Masculine Caesura in 3rd ft. of Hexameter one ex in	2 75	2 34	1 87	1 75	2 76	2 14	lines
Use of δη one ex in	28	57	147	n ⁴	48	100	lines
Subjunctive without ἀν otherwise than with εἰ one ex in	32	57	147	n	49	100	lines
Proportion of ὥν to ὡν ⁵	9 0	0 1	0 2	0 0	3 1	1 66 1	

This would seem to indicate that O contains some *earlier* poetry than KII ⁶ Let us now compare the two Books in so far as they are included in O (*I call these sections Oα and Oβ*).

¹ i.e. break between words after — ~ — ~ —, the figures for Callinus are one ex in 3 25 lines, Archilochus in 3 27, Tyrtaeus in 3 33, Mimneimus 2 68, Solon 2 30, Simonides 2 57, Ion of Chios 1 63, Euenus 1 5, Critias 1 73 ² in the case of poetry the archaism was doubtless due, at any rate in part, to the self-conscious attitude to literature which began with the teaching of Gorgias, who arrived at Athens in 427 ³ I include Solon in the 7th Century because there is a clearer break after than before him ⁴ infinity ⁵ including ὥν ⁶ other than the passages of Tyrtaeus, etc. cited elsewhere

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Here the relevant trends are five :

Century	vii	vi	v	iv	Oβ	Oα ¹	
Epic Corruption							
(1) Without <i>καί</i> one ex. in	5 40	8 84	18 11	6 75	4 20	5 49	lines
(2) With <i>καί</i> one ex. in	4 63	6 38	11 30	4 50	3 41	4 33	lines
Vowel short before mute and liquid,							
(1) external one ex. in	129	12 77	8 16	13 50	73	51	lines
(2) internal one ex. in	519	18 75	9 80	27	147	58	lines
Proportion of <i>έών</i> to <i>ών</i>	9·0	0·1	0·2	0·0	5·1	2 83 1	

In Vocabulary and Syntax Oβ not only shows (with KΠ) absence of convivial words, which is to be expected from its subject, but has no exx. of *δίκαιος* (Oα has 18 and KΠ 1), and (like KΠ) has no exx. of *φρήν* in the singular (Oα 5), *άρα* (Oα 5), *δμως* (Oα 3), *πρίν* with Infinitive (Oα 5), *άν* or *κέν* with Past Indicative (Oα 5), *καίπερ* with Participle (Oα 6), Oα has the 'Attic prose' use of the article once in 9 5 lines, Oβ once in 24 5, KΠ once in 33.

This would seem to indicate (1) that Oβ contains, in proportion to its length, fewer late poems than Oα, (2) that Oβ bears in respect of vocabulary and syntax a closer affinity to KΠ than does Oα—though we must not forget here that Oα is five times as long as Oβ, and Oβ has but one theme. If this is right, besides some poetry earlier than KΠ, O contains some *later*, and this later poetry is found mostly in Bk. i. In this connexion it is not without significance that in the first half of Bk. 1. the number of KΠ poems to O poems is in the proportion of 1 : 1·6, in the second half that of

¹ The figures for KΠ are 4 75, 3 26, 37, 50, and 1 66 . 1.

LATE POEMS: REPETITIONS: VARIANTS

1:5.4. If the KII poems are by one hand the other matter is mainly where it would be expected to be.

Before we draw our conclusions we may discuss four remaining points. *First*, the *Late Poems*, beginning with the poem I excluded from O as palpably late, 903. In this the number of Hexameters with Masculine Caesura in the 3rd foot (which is the soundest test) is very high, one in 1.27 lines (cf. KII 2 14, v 1.87, iv 1 75); it has a Vowel short internally before $\delta\rho$, for which there is no parallel but 855 before Critias (c. 455-404); and its proportion of short to lengthened Vowels before Mute and Liquid¹ internally is 3:1 or 1 0.33 (cf. v 1.0.37, O 1 6.86, KII 1:4). For similar reasons *I have also marked with a † as late*, but have not excluded from O because I did not discover them in time, 221, 373, 511, 699, 731, 773, 783, 855, 879, 963, 973, 1007, 1049, 1135.² A few more may be suspected for their resemblance to these, namely 429, 453, 499, 659, 1059, and 93 and 457 because the Trochaic Correption which they show in the 2nd foot is not found elsewhere before the Alexandrian period;³ *these I mark with † and a query*. It will be noticed that these are all in Oa. With a collection containing so large a proportion of very short pieces it would hardly be profitable to carry our analysis further. *Secondly*, the *Repeated Passages*. These, which are often not quite identical repetitions and sometimes show considerable differences, would seem to indicate, not so much a scholarly desire to include variant versions, as a certain carelessness, in one or more of

¹ with certain legitimate exceptions ² note also that 373 and 731 (743) take Zeus to task (contrast 687) in the manner of late-5th-Century Athens ³ I owe this to Lucas

THE THEOGNIDEA

the later compilers. It is only fair, however, to remember that before the days of the codex it took very much more trouble to verify a reference. It is interesting to note that the difference in the versions points to a variety of source. *Thirdly*, the *Variant Readings* in the passages of Tyrtæus, etc. cited elsewhere. With two possible exceptions (153 and 585),¹ where the changes *may* be intentional, none of these variants is greater than might be expected in a song-book compiled before the days of accurate scholarship.

Fourthly, the *Alphabetically-arranged Sections* Both Books, like the Inscriptions of Anacreon included in the *Anthology* (L G ii, p 214), show clear traces of at least one source which was arranged according to the initial letter,² in this case in the order of a pre-Euchleian alphabet in which Ω and O were both written O.³ That this source, or one of these sources, contained the KII poems unsegregated from O, seems to follow from 155 ff, 535 ff, 825 ff, and 1160a ff; and that its *format* was twelve or fourteen lines to the column is suggested by 131 ff, 415 ff, 611 ff, 825 ff, 1160a ff, 1253 ff, 1311 ff, all passages of one column, and 1278c ff, of two columns. On the other hand, some of the sequences may well be due merely to a desire to collocate superficially similar passages, e.g. 61 and 69 (σπουδαῖος), 69-79 (πίσυνος and πιστός)⁴ That this source contained 'probably late' poems as well as others might be

¹ not counting changes which are clearly intended to make an excerpt into a complete poem ² not the initial letters

³ possible traces of this are ξύνιε (1240) perhaps really ξυνίει (i.e. E meant as ει) and A's εὐγεργεαίης (i.e. ευφεργεαίης?), but this may be a mere blunder even though it occurs twice, 548 and 574 (cf. also 413, 440, 516) ⁴ cf. *Anacreont.* 2 and 3 (νόμους and νομούς confused)

CONCLUSIONS

argued from 453 and 457, but only from this one case, and as it seems to have contained no 'late' poems we are justified in suggesting that it was compiled before the 'late' poems were incorporated. Whoever compiled it, it is not likely to have been Theognis himself. A poet might conceivably arrange a collection of his own and other poetry by subject, but he would hardly arrange it alphabetically.

Putting all these considerations together and examining the two tables again, we may, I think, conclude that if we allow for a certain proportion of *pre-Theognidean* elements besides the passages quoted from Tyrtæus and others, and *post-Theognidean* elements besides the three poems addressed to Simonides, the middle of the 6th Century is the date of the bulk of the book. We may then conclude further that the book consists of three elements, (1) the work of Theognis himself—this is borne out by the occasional appearance, in the traditional Ionic, of Theognis' native Doric—, (2) that of his predecessors or contemporaries, and (3) that of his successors down to an uncertain date somewhere about 400 B.C. That the conjunction of (1) with some of (2) is due to Theognis is made probable, among other considerations, by the tradition of his authorship of the whole. His apparent omission to record his indebtedness may be due either to himself or to the book's later history. In collections like the *Anacreontea* and, to take a modern instance, *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, the song 's the thing.

And now, can we date the Late Poems? The test which has hitherto been the surest,¹ that of the

¹ note that if we add the three poems addressed to Simonides to the other fragments of Euenus, the figure is 187, which is

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Masculine Caesura in the 3rd foot of the Hexameter, would put them collectively into the 4th Century, for the figure is 1·65. But we must remember that, unlike the other material, this has been chosen by this very test and is therefore likely to have this feature exaggerated. This view is corroborated if we subtract the Late Poems from O; for O's figure for this test then becomes 3·04, which would make it absurdly early, 8th Century, whereas in the other tests the figures become about right for the 6th Century or a little earlier. As we said at the outset, apart from such tests there is nothing in the collection which must have been written after 400. All things considered we shall not go far wrong if we put the Late Poems as a whole into the last three quarters of the 5th Century.¹ One of them, at any rate, is even older than this, namely 773, which the reference to the Persian 'menace' puts at the latest in 480. That this poem is clearly written for a Megarian audience would seem to indicate that one of the post-Theognidean editors and augmenters of the collection was a Megarian, and perhaps also that the book did not come into Athenian hands till some time after the Persian Wars (cf 1365 n.) That three of the 'late' or 'probably late' poems show Doric forms points the same way. The last two lines of the 'late' poem 373 were clearly added by an archaiser, for they contain three Epic Corruptions and these are the only examples in 20 lines. The 'probably late' poem

¹ 221 was written before 441 B.C. (cf Soph. *Ant.* 705 ff) and 699 before 409 (cf. 717 with Eur. *Phoen.* 438 (Will, Harr))

exactly that of the 5th Century, and if, as is probable, this Euenus is the friend of Socrates his *floruit*, *pace* Eusebius, would be 440

FRAGMENTS

(879) which mentions Taygetus and imitates Tyrtaeus 5.1 would hardly have been taken into an Athenian collection after 431. The latest additions of all may have been made by the 'metagrammatist' who edited it for the first time in the new Attic alphabet of 403 B.C. Antisthenes' (c. 444—370) book *On Theognis* must have been written about this time, but it is perhaps hardly likely, despite his book *On the Use of Words*, that he was the editor in question, any more than Xenophon, who also is said to have written on the poet.¹ Euenus himself is a more likely candidate. But the editor was probably an unknown schoolmaster. In any case, the segregation of the love-poems into Bk. ii would be for school purposes.²

I have generally spoken above of the 'poems.' This must not be taken to mean that all in my opinion are complete. On the other hand we ought not to conclude that every passage which begins with a connecting-particle is necessarily a fragment. Not only does their artistic unity sometimes belie this (cf 197, 699, 857, 983, 1063) but probably also the conditions of their use. Such songs were sung or recited in succession by guests round the table, and it was understood that each tried in some way to surpass his predecessor.³ This custom might well give rise to a tradition that an adversative particle, for instance, made a suitable opening. Another

¹ cf. p. 220 ² a possible hint of the date of this (prob. done by an Athenian, of the mention of Theseus in 1231) is given by Cleon's boast, *Ar. Eq.* 876, *ἔπαυσα τοὺς βινουμένους*, which implies an enactment c 427, and this could not have been carried without a popular demand, for legal control of *παιδαγωγία*, cf *Daremb. v. ἐταιρήσεως γραφή*, *Plat. Symp* 182b ff. ³ cf. 239, *L.G.* iii 549 ff, and *Plat. Symp* 198b

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possible explanation is that such songs were originally felt to be pendants to the Paeon and the Libation-Songs—solo-continuations, for mere entertainment's sake, of the ritual choral-songs. It is to be remarked that one of Solon's longest fragments, one which, to judge from the way it is cited, is very likely to begin at the true beginning, opens with the words 'Ημετέρα δὲ πόλις. In any case, this question is comparatively unimportant. Such passages make only $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the whole book. It is worth noting, however, that of the 26 passages of this nature out of a total of 344 (79 KΠ + 222 Oα + 43 Oβ), 23 are in Oα, 3 in KΠ, and none in Oβ. This looks as if the majority owe their place to one of the later compilers,—though all would not be for that reason *written* late, and some of the passages cited elsewhere from Tyrtaeus, etc. are known to be fragments. It is to be noted that at 153 and 315 Theognis or another has changed Solon's γάρ to τοι, and at 585 changed πασι δέ τοι to πᾶσιν τοι; 935 (Tyrtaeus) is left as a fragment with μὲν unexplained; at 227 Solon's δ' could not be removed.

It remains to discuss the persons addressed other than Cynus. These are Simonides (467, 667, 1345), Onomacritus (503), Clearchus (511†), Democles (903†), Academicus (993), Timagoras (1059†?), Demonax (1085), Argyris (1209). The great Simonides lived c. 557–468, the historical Onomacritus c. 520–485. We have seen reason to ascribe the Simonides-poems, with some margin of doubt, to Euenus. If this Euenus is the friend of Socrates, they cannot be addressed to the great poet. Nor can they be addressed to his grandson, as he probably was, commemorated as 'victorious at Athens' in

PERSONS ADDRESSED

489 by the *Parian Chronicle*; for they are clearly not intended for a particularly old man. One of these three poems is cited in a fragment of the comedy *Cheiron*, which was doubtfully ascribed to Pherecrates, but which in any case, to judge from its reference to the young Timotheus, was written about 425. The only known Simonides who will suit us is the Athenian general of 426. The historical Onomacritus, the collector and forger of oracles, was banished by Hipparchus and withdrew to Persia, this would be before 514. There is no reason why we should not suppose 503 to be addressed to him. It is to be noted that it contains the Attic construction $\mu\eta\ \pi\omega\varsigma\ .\ .\ \epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota$. There seems to have been a tragic poet named Demonax; and there was an Athenian Timagoras, $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}$ of Meletus the accuser of Socrates; for other reasons we have marked the Timagoras poem as probably late. Of the other names we can only say that Academus and Democles occur respectively in 5th- and 4th-Century Athens. The poem to Democles, which is perhaps the latest in the whole book, is marked as Attic, though not necessarily late Attic, by the construction $\acute{\iota}\nu'\ \epsilon\iota\chi\epsilon$, and shown to be late by $\delta\alpha\pi\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\omega$, which is a prose word and does not occur before Herodotus.

It will probably remain impossible to say certainly which poems of the collection are by Theognis himself. The results of the most meticulous analysis would be vitiated by the undoubted fact that a poet's style has its 'periods'. The most we can say now is that in all probability most of the $\text{K}\Pi$ poems are his and very possibly a few of the rest. There are indeed one or two poems in O of such a nature as to appear to have no reasonable place in a

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collection like this unless they are by Theognis. The clearest instances are 1209, *Αἴθων μὲν γένος εἰμί*,¹ and 1211, addressed to the woman Argyris.² Yet what is reasonable to us might not appear reasonable to the compiler of an ancient collection of poems intended, as these doubtless were, to be taught in school to Greek boys and sung or recited at dinner-parties by the same boys when they became men.³ On the other hand, in spite of what he says about the 'seal' or 'signature' of the name Cynus, it seems only human nature that Theognis, who, to judge by 819, where he and Cynus both seem to have passed middle age, added to his collection late in life, should have included some of his 'unsigned' poems besides those which are introductory to the book.⁴ However all this may be, any estimate of his work or discussion of his character must in the circumstances be based on the 300 lines which we have called KΠ,—though even so we may be dealing here and there with imitation;⁵ for his 'signature' could not prevent this.

When we isolate the Cynus-poems we find a worthy and consistent self-portrait, and this, in the wreck of Greek Gnostic Poetry, is of great value. It is that of an honest man and an aristocrat, who deploras the emancipation of the lower orders and dreads despotism, shuns poverty and decries wealth, preaches resignation and self-control, praises wisdom, piety, liberality, tact, fairness, the honouring of

¹ see Harrison's explanation on p. 17 ² cf. 341, 367, 407, 579, 595, 815, 831, 949, 1203 ³ Bk. II, however, was probably not used at school, see above, p. 17 ⁴ the existence of two dedications (19 and 237) suggests that Theognis himself brought out at least two editions ⁵ c.g. 1223 (KΠ), where *ὀργή* = 'anger' as in 1301 (O)

THEOGNIS' SELF-PORTRAIT

parents, faithfulness in friendship, respect for the oracle, and moderation in all things. His friendship with Cynus, though it did not always run smooth, seems to have lasted from the days when he was perhaps twenty and his beloved fifteen till they were both well advanced in years. We learn from him that he was happily married, that he suffered from false friends, and that he spent some time in exile, not only overseas, presumably in the other Megara, in Sicily,¹ but, if 1209 is his, at Thebes. There is some indication (543) that at one time he was in a position of authority. The little we know of Megara before and during his day indicates a long period of violent alternations of oligarchy and democracy, of which the chief events are the loss of Salamis c. 600 and the founding of the democratic colony of Heraclea Pontica c. 560. His traditional *floruit* (548) was perhaps based on the date of the establishment of a moderate oligarchic government in which he had a prominent place. Of the four poems mentioning Sparta, 783† and 879† are certainly, and 1087 probably, by another hand, and 997 is more like Euenus than Theognis. His noble second dedication of his poems to Cynus (237) is alone sufficient to prove him a great poet, and we cannot be sorry that the immortality he there counts on has indeed been his.

Turning now to the other poems, the reader will find that the chief difference between O and KII lies in O's containing love-poems and poems of wine and revelry. These are almost entirely absent from KII. Of the Love-Poems, 261, 1275, and 1386 will appeal most to the modern reader, especially 261; of the Convivial Poems the best perhaps are 509, 567, 627,

¹ cf. Plato quoted on p 216

DEMODOCUS. PHOCYLIDES

757 with its reference to the Persian Wars, 789, 873, 877, 973†, 979, 983, 989, 1129; of the purely Gnostic Poems perhaps 115, 255, 421, 425, 429†?, 457†?, 797, 1007†, 1013, 1069, 1155, 1163, 1185; of the Poems of Friendship perhaps 595, 857, 1091, 1097 To these we may add, as being of especial interest or merit, 257 written by a woman, 341 a prayer for revenge, 511† a poor man's song of welcome, 579 a dialogue, 667 a political letter, 691 a lampoon, 695 a reflexion, 769 a poet's rules of art, 773† a Megarian hymn to Apollo with a reference to the Persian 'menace,' 783† 'home is best,' 847 an oligarchic view of a democratic tyrant, 861 the harlot's cat, 879† a letter accompanying a gift of wine, 891 the Lelantine War, 997 an invitation to dinner, 1043 perhaps from Mimnermus, 1087 a prayer to the Dioscuri, 1119 another prayer, 1135† in praise of Hope. This selection is of varying merit; some of the poems it contains are doubtless below the standard of Theognis; but if read first it may serve to lighten the boredom which inevitably comes of reading consecutively a collection of poems intended to be recited one by one.

In this discussion of what alas! it is clear we must call the *Theognidea*, we have perforce had to pass the limits of the 6th Century. To this we will now return

To the middle of the 6th Century probably belong two other 'Gnostic' writers, DEMODOCUS of Leros and PHOCYLIDES of Miletus. Demodocus, using the Elegiac for the invective which traditionally belonged to the Iambic, satirises the Milesians in a single couplet Phocylides seems to have replied by parodying Demodocus in the couplet which, with

XENOPHANES

its original, is the source of Porson's famous epigram on Hermann. The device, which Cicero found so tedious, of using the first quarter of each Gnostic distich for the author's signature,¹ seems to have been taken by the Milesian from the Lesbian.² Phocylides came to outshine his rival. The three citations are the only extant mentions of Demodocus,³ whereas Phocylides survives in sixteen fragments and was not only classed in antiquity with Theognis, and even with Hesiod, Solon, and Mimnermus, but imitated in the *Phocylidea*.⁴ Demodocus, like Solon, wrote in Elegiacs and Iambics, Phocylides, save for his parody of Demodocus, to judge by the fragments, only in Hexameters. Phocylides seems to have known Semonides' Satire on Women (fr 7). Both these men show wit, even elegance, and only a poet could have written Phocylides' 5th fragment.

A far greater figure of the same period is the first philosopher-poet XENOPHANES of Colophon, founder of the Eleatic school, of whom we hear of two poems probably in hexameters, *The Founding of Colophon* and *The Colonising of Elea*, amounting together to 2000 lines, and have fragments of an hexameter poem on Nature, as well as some Epic and Elegiac citations of Gnostic type, the former from poems afterwards called *Silli* or *Lampoons*.⁵ These poems, or at any rate the hexameters, he recited, we are told, as a rhapsode (ῥαψώδης), that is as Epic poems proper; yet his sympathies were all against tradition.

¹ an echo of this is heard in Nossis *A. P.* 5. 170 ² not vice-versa, for then *Leros* could have had no point in Phocylides, perh Procles was Demodocus' real name
³ apart from the spurious poems in the *Anthology* ⁴ in Bergk *Poet Lyr Gr.* II 81 ff, prob by a Hellenising Jew
⁵ Diog L also mentions *Iambi*

HIPPONAX: ANANIUS

He inveighs against the singing or reciting of table-songs on mythical or political themes, passages that is to say from Homer and Hesiod or, probably, the odes of Alcaeus; he denounces the extravagant honours paid to athletes, luxurious living, anthropomorphism; he is the first Greek of whom we know for certain that he taught monotheism; he admired the astronomy of Thales, he criticises the metempsychosis of Pythagoras; he holds that the results of human speculation are always subjective, that all things are composed of earth and water, that God is the totality of Thought. For his time, the independence of his outlook and the depth of his speculation are amazing. He doubtless owed much to Pythagoras, but he is clearly one of the great thinkers of the world¹ His later contemporary Heraclitus wrote in prose, but his great successor Parmenides still employed Epic verse,² and the connexion between poetry and philosophy, as we shall see, lasted beyond the mid-5th Century, and was revived towards the end of the 4th

Iambic poetry at this time is represented by Hippōnax and Ananius, the former, who was of Ephesus, apparently the inventor of the Iambic Scazon or 'limping Iambic' and the corresponding Trochaic (σκάζων, χωλίαμβος), in which the last foot is of two longs instead of a short and a long Hippo-nax used this strange rhythm, as Archilochus had used the ordinary trimeter and tetrameter, for bitter personal attacks, which eventually became the model

¹ for his tenets, besides pp 182 ff. below, see his life in Diog L, [Arist] *de Melisso Xenophane Gorgia* 3, 4, Plat. *Soph.* 242, and other authors quoted by Diels *Vorsokratiker* 1 45 ² for the extant fragments see Diels *Vorsokr.* 1. 147

HIPPARCHUS

of Alexandrian poets such as Callimachus, and through them of Catullus and Martial. The gastro-nomic content of the chief fragment of Ananius, who also wrote in this metre, cited as it is by Athenaeus, need not be taken as typical of its author's works. These poets are beyond the scope of this book¹

The Athenian Age, of which the morning-star is Solon, rises with Peisistratus and his son HIPPARCHUS. To one or other of these we perhaps owe the first recensions—if we may so call them—of Homer and Hesiod, and Peisistratus is said to have collected the first library. The courtly patronage of poetry, a revival, under the 'tyrants,' of a fashion of the time of the kings, seems to have begun with the father of Polycrates at Samos, who welcomed to his court Ibycus the melic poet of Rhegium and his later contemporary Anacreon of Teos. On the fall of Polycrates in 522 Anacreon was fetched to Athens by Hipparchus, under whose patronage, with such men as Simonides of Ceos and Lasus of Hermione, he laid the foundations of the Attic literature of the 5th Century. Hipparchus, whom Aristotle calls an aesthete (*φιλόμουσος*) in contrast with his more politically-minded brother Hippias, employed the Elegiac pentameter (and hexameter, if fr. 3 be his) to adorn effigies of Hermes Of the Ways with brief moral exhortations or topographical information for the benefit of the passer-by. The use of the Elegiac or Epic metre for inscriptions is found as early as the 7th Century, and that of the Iambic in the 6th. The inscriptional Elegiac, which came to be employed

¹ See *Herodes, Cercidas, and the Greek Choliambic Poets* by A. D. Knox (Loeb Library)

ANACREON

for other purposes than writing on stones (hence the word *epigram*), attains its early prime just after the Persian Wars, and continues through Alexandrian and Roman times to the end of Greek culture. The Epic and the Iambic were soon used far less frequently either on stones or in 'epigrams.' Probably the traditional association of the hexameter with long narrative poems checked the employment of the one, and the growth of the iambic-using drama, both Syracusan and Athenian, that of the other.¹ The iambic of drama lies beyond the scope of this book, but it should be noted that the combination dramatist and writer of iambi was not unknown.²

Apart from a few epitaphs of doubtful authenticity ascribed to Archilochus and Sappho, some of the inscriptions surviving under the name of the melic poet ANACREON are the earliest whose authorship is fairly certain. I translate one (150³).

'This is the tomb of Timocritus, a staunch man in the wars; for it is the craven, not the brave, that are spared by Ares.'

His only surviving Elegiac 'Table-Song' may be thus translated (116):

'I like not him who at his drinking beside the full mixing-bowl tells of strife and lamentable War, but rather one that taketh thought

¹ the use of the inscription-metre—as the Elegiac came to be—for eulogies prob. came partly from the epitaph, and its employment for love-poems from the love-messages that were scrawled on walls, etc., for the early history of the 'Epigram' and its use by Anacreon and Simonides see *Lyra Graeca* II. 212 ff., 350 ff., III 637, 640 ff., see also the *Greek Anthology* in the Loeb Series

² see on Hermippus below

³ *Lyra Graeca* II.

ANACREON

for delightful mirth by mingling the Muses
and the splendid gifts of Aphrodite.'

Like Archilochus, he also wrote Iambic and Trochaic verse, and verse which combined iambic and dactylic rhythms. Some of his fragments might be called Epodes, and he does not confine the strophic arrangement to melic metres. His trochaic lines to the Thracian coquette (84) show the 'poetry of invective at its best:

'Thracian filly, tell me why
You look askance when I come nigh,
And flee unkind, as though I knew
Naught of how to manage you ?

Should it please me, truth to tell,
I could bridle you right well,
And take and ride you hand on rein
Up the course and down again ;

And if instead you graze your fill
And flisk it in the meadow still,
'Tis but because a man like me
Knows how long to leave you free.'¹

Of SIMONIDES' elegiac verse apart from inscriptions we have a few fragments of the Elegiac Laments or Eulogies on Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea, and the Gnostic fragment sometimes ascribed to Semonides of Amorgos, which is here translated.

'But there's one saying of the man of Chios
which passeth all. *The life of man is even as
the life of a green leaf*, yet few that receive it

¹ the last two ll. are partly conjectural

SIMONIDES

with the ear lay it away in the breast; for there's a hope that springeth in every heart that is young, and so long as man possesseth the flowery bloom of youth there is much that his light heart deemeth to have no end, counting neither on age nor death, and taking no thought for sickness in time of health. Poor fools they to think so, and not to know that the time of youth is but short to such as be mortal! Wherefore be thou wise in time, and fail not when the end is near to give thy soul freely of the best.'

In the hands of Simonides the Elegiac Epitaph—the lament in little—soared its highest, and even the votive-label became a thing of pathos and beauty. We have his label for the trophy of Artemesium (164¹), and one for a soldier's spear dedicated to Zeus (173); the latter may be translated thus:

'Rest so, thou fine long ash, against the tall pillar, abiding ever sacred to Zeus the Diviner; for thy bronze point is grown old and thou thyself art worn out with much wielding in dreadful war.'

Of his epitaphs on Marathon, Thermopylae, Salamis, and Plataea, even ten years after our own war, it is difficult to speak without faltering. I translate the last (126):

'These crowned their dear country with fame inextinguishable by wrapping round them the mist and gloom of death; though they died they are not dead, for their valour brings them back in glory from the world below.'

¹ *Lyra Graeca* 11.

AESCHYLUS: SOPHOCLES

Some of these great little poems were written by Simonides at the age of seventy-five. For sheer ingenuity some of his votive inscriptions would be hard to beat. I quote the untranslatable couplet on the boxing-champion (183):

Εἰπὸν τίς τίνας ἐσσῑ τίνας πατρίδος τί δὲ νικᾷς
Κασμύλος Εὐαγόρου Πύθια πύξ 'Ρόδιος

And then there are his dinner-table improvisations, the snow-riddle (108), the mock-dedication (109):

Σῶσος καὶ Σωσώ, Σῶτερ, σοὶ τόνδ' ἀνέθηκαν,
Σῶσος μὲν σωθεὶς Σωσώ δ' ὅτι Σῶσος ἐσώθη,

and the mock-epitaph (110):

Πολλὰ πιὼν καὶ πολλὰ φαγὼν καὶ πολλὰ κάκ' εἰπὼν
ἀνθρώπους κείμει Τιμοκρέων 'Ρόδιος

The last marks both the new use of the inscriptional form for other purposes and the older extension of 'invective' from the Iambic to the Elegiac. A similar extension is seen in the melic poem—in form an encomium—in which the same Timocreon attacks Simonides' friend the great Themistocles.

Anacreon lived to know AESCHYLUS, Simonides to defeat him in the competition for an Elegy on Marathon. Both Simonides and Aeschylus were welcomed at the court of Hiero of Syracuse. Aeschylus' epitaph on himself, so wonderful in what it does not say, is of great interest for what it implies, namely, a writer to whom one crowded hour of Marathon was worth an age of victories of the theatre. The non-dramatic fragments of SOPHOCLES include Melic as well as Epic and Elegiac poetry. His *Paeon to Asclepius* was sung at Athens

EURIPIDES. ION OF CHIOS

seven centuries after his death; his one Epic fragment is of Gnostic flavour; he uses the 'Inscription' as an *epigram* in the modern sense. EURIPIDES wrote an Epinicion for Alcibiades' Olympic victory in the chariot-race, containing a line he seems to have taken from Simonides:

'Your happy man's first need is a famous country.'

It is worth noting here that his noble distich on the Athenians who perished before Syracuse—with which a Cambridge man may be allowed to compare A. E. Housman's *On an Army of Mercenaries*—is called by Plutarch an ἐπικήδειον, probably the term which came to be applied to such elegy as remained lament.

It is perhaps a sign of the times that prose-works were ascribed both to Sophocles and to his younger contemporary Ion of Chios, the lists of whose works suggest a man of extraordinary versatility. He wrote not only Tragedy and Comedy but all kinds of Melic, and Elegiac Poems; and also ranked as a philosopher. It is to be noted as a landmark in the history of Athenian intellectual supremacy that the first production of this Chian's tragedies—and Chians were part Ionian, part Aeolian—at Athens is placed in the next Olympiad (452-49 B.C.) to that in which the Ionian philosopher Anaxagoras, friend of Pericles and teacher of Euripides, took up his abode there. It is also to be remarked that when Ion won a double Athenian victory, in the Dithyramb and in Tragedy, he was not living permanently at Athens. Three of the four considerable fragments of his Elegiac poems are vigorous Songs of the Table which show a new elaboration of the convivial element, and are partly expressed in the riddling

THE MID-5TH CENTURY

terms which are not only dear to poets of the Athenian decline, such as Timotheus and Philoxenus, but to be found even in contemporary tragedy. The asking of riddles, such as those given on p. 308 of vol. II, was a common after-dinner pastime, and the incorporation of this element into Elegy, aided doubtless by the use of it in the Epic lines of the oracles, completes the process by which a lament became a table-song. One of these fragments seems to have been written for a Eurypontid King of Sparta, presumably Archidamus II (469-427 B.C.). Another by showing technical knowledge of the lyre reminds us that poets were still musicians. The fourth fragment seems to come from a eulogy of Pherecydes of Syros. If, as seems likely, Pherecydes had long been dead, this marks a development in the history of such poems.

By the middle of the 5th Century we find poetry being written—at any rate at Athens—by others than poets. The Elegiac seems already to have won its place as the mould into which the philosopher could throw a consolatory speech or letter, the historian an epitaph, any well-educated citizen a votive label, any wit a *bon-mot*. The philosopher Archelaus, pupil of Anaxagoras and teacher of Socrates, writes an Elegy to console Cimon on the death of his wife; the historian Thucydides is one of the two claimants to authorship of the famous epitaph on Euripides; the sculptor Praxiteles signs his Cnidian Aphrodite with two memorable couplets; Alcibiades, caricatured by a comic poet, gives him a distich as well as a ducking. All this betokens what is called 'culture,' and how far this culture came to pervade the body-politic at Athens is clear

DIONYSIUS CHALCUS

from the mere size of the 'house' before which Aristophanes could stage a poetry-contest between Aeschylus and Euripides. Poetry seems to have taken the place in Greek¹ education that 'languages' do—or did till the other day—in ours. Every decently educated Athenian at this period was taught at school to sing, or at any rate to recite poems or selections from poems of the Epic, Melic, and Gnomie writers, as well as 'speeches' from the drama; and what is more, he did not put this poetry behind him as a childish thing when he grew up, but used it all his life, whether as host or guest, to entertain his friends. This familiarity with poetry in 5th and 4th Century Athens² was like the knowledge of Latin—only it was probably far greater—in our own upper classes of a century ago. Philosophers took it for granted in their disquisitions, orators in their harangues, and playwrights in their dramas.

But in speaking of the 4th Century we are anticipating. To the mid-5th Century belongs the Athenian poet and orator, DIONYSIUS surnamed CHALCUS, the Brazen, who like other poets before him went out as leader of a colony. His Elegiacs were remarkable for a peculiarity found elsewhere, according to Heracleides, only in an oracle said to have been given to the despot Phalaris a century or more before,—the placing of the pentameter first. The few surviving fragments, perhaps because with one exception they are cited by Athenaeus, are mostly convivial, and include a dedication, perhaps

¹ not only Athenian (cf. *Lyra Graeca* iii. 548 ff, 583, 658), but it is only Athens that we know reasonably well. ² I speak of poetry as a whole; fashions of course changed

EUVENUS: CRITIAS

imitated by Philoxenus,¹ where the book he gives his friend is likened to a toast drunk in his honour. It would perhaps be unfair to accuse Dionysius of ill-taste on the strength of a two-word phrase quoted with disapproval by Aristotle in a corrupt passage; but it is interesting to note in him the growth of the use of riddling phrases such as Dionysus' 'ancient and far-come friend' for wine, and 'oarsmen of cups' for its devotees. The same tendency to over-cleverness—the beginning of the Alexandrinism of which we are this day seeing one of the many revivals—is found in one passage of his contemporary the Parian EUVENUS, of whom we have Elegiac, Epic, and Iambic citations, all Gnostic. Three poems of his, of similar context,² addressed to a certain Simonides, are preserved, as we saw, in the Theognidean collection (ll. 467 ff, 667 ff, 1345 ff). He is classed by Plato as a sophist; he certainly seems to have taught 'rhetoric'—including poetry—for pay; but he was also reckoned an elegiac poet. According to Eratosthenes there were two Parian poets of this name, of whom the younger alone was famous; but this may well be merely an assumption made to clear up some difficulty of chronology.³ Euenus' *Erotica*, mentioned by Ausonius, were probably a prose-work.

The saying preserved by the scholiast on Plato about another and more famous sophist, CRITIAS 'the Tyrant,' that he was 'a layman among philosophers and a philosopher among laymen,'

¹ *Lyra Graeca* iii. 362

² one, Theogn. 667, is a letter

³ due perh to the mention of 'Simonides', in later times there was at least one other Euenus, of whom we have some epigrams in the *Anthology*

HERMIPPUS

probably maligns an all-round man by calling him a dabbler. The memory of Critias was hated both as the leading spirit of the Thirty and as an enemy of Socrates. His fine hexameter Eulogy of the long-dead Anacreon is almost Alexandrian in its style. An Alexandrian, however, at any rate an early Alexandrian, would have put it into Elegiacs. In his encomium of a living man, the *Elegy on Alcibiades*, Critias himself apologises for not using the Elegiac metre. He used the elegiac for didactic poems of some length, for instance the fragment saying where the best wagons, chairs, beds, and so on, come from, and for the *Constitutions in Verse* which told of the customs of the various cities. We should perhaps rate what remains of these higher if we could get over our modern feeling that they ought to be in prose. Critias also wrote tragedies and satyr-plays of which we have some fragments¹. His prose-works included *Constitutions* of Athens (?), Thessaly, and Sparta, *Aphorisms*, *Conversations*, a treatise *On the Nature of Love*, and *Exordia to Public Speeches*. His orations survived—deservedly from all accounts—into Roman times.

In the same age lived HERMIPPUS, a poet of the Old Comedy who was also a writer of Iambi, famous as the prosecutor of Aspasia. Two fragments cited from his *Tetrameters* appear to belong to a bulesque travellers'-tale, another calls a man 'a sparrow from the dunghill of Themistocles'. Perhaps the title *Parodies* mentioned by Polemon was the collective name of three books containing respectively Hexameters, Iambics, and Tetrameters; but no hexameters have survived. It is to be noted that

¹ see Diels *Vorsokr.* 2. 316 ff.

ANTIMACHUS

the fragments of this comedy-writer's Iambi obey the rules of tragedy.

The next name is, or rather was—for the fragments are disappointing—a great one, ANTIMACHUS of Colophon, the Epic and Elegiac poet whom Plutarch depicts for us competing in an encomium of Lysander at Samos¹ Antimachus, who was a friend and older contemporary of Plato, was an Alexandrian born before his time. Suidas even describes him as 'grammarian and poet'—doubtless because he edited Homer² Yet Quintilian records, grudgingly it is true, that he was counted second to Hesiod, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus mentions him with Pindar and Aeschylus as an exponent of the austere style. Like too many other post-war poets—of a much later date—he seems to have aimed at the unusual and hit the obscure; yet in spite of some dissentient voices, notably those of Callimachus and Catullus, there is no doubt of the ancient fame both of his *Thebaid* and of his *Lyde*. The former reached its 23rd Book before bringing the Seven to Thebes; the latter, which, following the example of the *Nanno* of Mimnermus, was named after the poet's wife, was a long elegiac recital of the misfortunes of the heroes, written, it was said, to console him for her loss.

With but few exceptions the Elegiac poetry of the 4th Century is, for us, the work rather of men of culture than of poets—these perhaps were too busy with the Drama and the Dithyramb—and there is a predominance of Epitaphs, some of which recall Simonides and others forestall Theocritus. PLATO

¹ in 404 B.C.
scholia

² his edition is mentioned 13 times in the

PLATO: SIMMIAS: SCYTHINUS

we may reckon as among the exceptions, for he is a poet even in his prose. His love-poem and epitaph on Aster are two of the most beautiful things in all Greek. The anonymous inscriptions of this period are sometimes very good, for instance (32):

‘ If there were a city made of such men as these,
her enemies would never dedicate a trophy unto
Zeus;

and the alternative epitaph on Plato (34):

‘ Apollo begat two sons, Asclepius and Plato,
the one to save the body and the other the
soul’;

the epitaph on Crius (say, Ramsbottom; 41) still makes the reader ashamed of laughing at his name. SIMMIAS OF THEBES on Sophocles is already, like Antimachus, Alexandrian.

For the greater part of this century Iambic poetry apart from the Drama seems to have suffered eclipse. Its recovery towards the end of it was perhaps ultimately due to the removal of satire from the domain of Comedy. We now find the tetrameter employed by a fellow-countryman, perhaps a descendant, of Anacreon, the iambic poet SCYTHINUS, who is said to have ‘ put the discourse of Heracleitus into verse ’ This probably refers to the poem *On Nature*, from which Stobaeus cites a marvellously modern-sounding definition of Time (vol. ii. fr. 2). Scythinus also wrote a prose-work called *History* or *The History*. He appears to have been the first writer of Iambi to admit the rhythms of the comic stage.¹

¹ the remarkable epigram ascribed to him in *Anth. Pal.*, 12 232, is doubtless spurious

CRATES OF THEBES

The old connexion between verse and philosophy is exemplified about the same time in an extremely interesting figure. The same fate that has denied us the Letters, Treatises, and Tragedies—if indeed he wrote them—of the great Diogenes, has given us a few fragments of the Epic, Iambic, and Elegiac works of his disciple CRATES OF THEBES. Like his master, Crates left all and followed virtue, and went about rebuking his fellowmen—often with kindliness and always with wit. Apart from his literary works, his famous marriage with the woman-philosopher Hipparchia, who, like Héloïse, loved her Abelard (in Laertius' phrase) 'for what he said and the way he lived,' seems at first almost alone to distinguish him from the mendicant friars of a later age (they called him 'Door-opener' because he was in the habit of entering any and every house to admonish its inmates). Yet with a Christian outlook on vice and luxury his fragments combine a Pagan sense of literary form. Much of the little that remains of his Epic and Elegiac verses is parody—he called one book *Παίγνια* or *Toys*—, but it is not of the sort which is merely funny and clever. In them as in his Iambic fragments we feel the presence not only of a wise man but of a poet. More of his Iambics may well come from the *Tragedies*—probably written only to be read—than the single fine fragment cited thence by Diogenes Laertius. Of prose-works we hear in the same writer, who speaks in high terms of his philosophical *Letters*.¹

If we take for the first flowering-time of Greek poetry as it is known to us the age of Homer and

¹ those included by Hercher in his *Epistolographi Graeci* are considered spurious

ENVOI

Hesiod, for the second that which extends from Archilochus to Aristophanes, and for the third that which begins with Theocritus and ends with Bion, each a period of two centuries more or less, we shall find after every one an autumnal flowering which, though sometimes beautiful—for instance Plato's epigrams—, too often falls short of full perfection because the blossoms are scentless and fade without bearing seed. Between Solon and Crates there is all the difference of spring and autumn; and yet in the decline of Athens with her wit and her vision, we can already discern signs of the rise of Alexandria with her romance and her learning, and we know that the end is not yet. There are still to come Theocritus, Apollonius, Callimachus, Moschus, Bion; and then there will be the long aftertime of autumn-tinted leaves and November roses, Meleager, Philodemus, Strato, Rufinus, Agathias. The Greeks wrote Elegiacs for sixteen hundred years. Greek Iambic verse not greatly different in form from the verse made by Archilochus in the 7th Century before our era was still being written in the 12th Century after it.

PART I
THE ELEGIAC POETS
FROM
CALLINUS TO CRITIAS

ΚΑΛΛΙΝΟΥ

Βίος

Str. 13. 604 [π. *ἱερὸν τὸ τοῦ Σμινθέως Ἀπόλωνος*]¹ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης ἀφιγμένοις Τεύκροις, οὓς πρῶτος παρέδωκε Καλλῖνος ὁ τῆς ἐλεγείας ποιητής, ἠκολούθησαν δὲ πολλοί, χρησμοὺς ἦν κτλ.

Ibid. 627 φησὶ δὲ Καλλισθένης ἀλῶναι τὰς Σάρδεις ὑπὸ Κιμμερίων πρῶτον, εἰθ' ὑπὸ Τρηρῶν καὶ Λυκίων, ὅπερ καὶ Καλλῖνον δηλοῦν τὸν τῆς ἐλεγείας ποιητήν, ὕστατα δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Κύρου καὶ Κροίσου γενέσθαι ἄλωσιν. λέγοντος δὲ τοῦ Καλλίνου τὴν ἔφοδον τῶν Κιμμερίων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑσιονῆας γεγονέναι καθ' ἣν αἱ Σάρδεις ἐάλωσαν, εἰκάζουσιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Σκήψιον ἰαστὶ λέγεσθαι Ἑσιονεῖς τοὺς Ἀσιονεῖς· 'τάχα γὰρ <ἡ Ἑσιονία ὥσπερ> ἡ Μηονία' φησὶν 'Ἀσία ἐλέγετο, καθ' ὃ καὶ "Ὅμηρος εἴρηκεν· Ἀσίῳ ἐν λειμῶνι Καυστρίου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα.' ἀναληφθεῖσα δ' ἀξιολόγως ὕστερον διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς χώρας ἡ πόλις καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς λειπομένη τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων, νεωστὶ ὑπὸ σεισμῶν ἀπέβαλε πολλὴν τῆς κατοικίας.

Ibid. 14. 647 καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν δὲ συνέβη τοῖς Μάγνησιν ὑπὸ Τρηρῶν ἄρδην ἀναιρεθῆναι, Κιμμερικοῦ ἔθνους, εὐτυχήσαντας πολὺν χρόνον, τῇ

¹ the three dates are prob. 652, 646, and 546 B.C.

CALLINUS

LIFE

Strabo *Geography* [the temple of Apollo Smintheus]: The Teucrians from Crete, of whom we hear first in the Elegiac poet Callinus, and later in many writers after him, were answered with the following oracle, etc.

The Same According to Callisthenes, Sardis was first taken by the Cimmerians and later by the Trerians and Lycians—his authority for this is the Elegiac poet Callinus—and last of all came its capture in the days of Cyrus and Croesus¹ Now Callinus declares that the Cimmerian invasion which involved the sack of Sardis was directed against the Esioneans, and for this reason the Scepsian (Demetrius) surmises that *Esioneans* is the Ionic form of *Asioneans*, *Esionia* perhaps being equivalent to Asia, like Meonia in Homer, where we read 'In the Asian meadowland beside the streams of Cayster.' The city made a remarkable recovery afterwards because of the fertility of the soil, becoming second to none of its neighbours, but in recent times has lost much of its population through earthquakes.

The Same: In ancient times the Magnesians, after a long period of prosperity, were unfortunate enough to be exterminated by a Cimmerian people called the Trerians, and in the following year their territory

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει Μιλησίους κατασχεῖν τὸν τόπον. Καλλίνος μὲν οὖν ὥς εὐτυχούντων ἔτι τῶν Μαγνήτων μέμνηται καὶ κατορθούντων ἐν τῷ πρὸς τοὺς Ἐφεσίους πολέμῳ, Ἀρχίλοχος δὲ ἤδη φαίνεται γνωρίζων τὴν γενομένην αὐτοῖς συμφοράν· 'Κλαίω τὰ Θασίων οὐ τὰ Μαγνήτων κακά.' ἐξ οὗ καὶ <αὐ>τὸν νεώτερον εἶναι τοῦ Καλλίνου τεκμαίρεσθαι πάρεστιν. ἄλλης δέ τις ἐφόδου τῶν Κιμμερίων μέμνηται πρεσβυτέρας ὁ Καλλίνος ἐπ' αὐτῇ· 'Νῦν δ' ἐπὶ Κιμμερίων στρατὸς ἔρχεται ὀβριμοεργῶν' ἐν ᾗ τὴν Σάρδεων ἄλωσιν δηλοῖ.

Ibid. 668 φησὶ δ' Ἡρόδοτος τοὺς Παμφύλους τῶν μετὰ Ἀμφιλόχου καὶ Κάλχαντος εἶναι λαῶν μιγάδων τινῶν ἐκ Τροίας συνακολουθησάντων· τοὺς μὲν δὴ πολλοὺς ἐνθάδε καταμεῖναι, τινὰς δὲ σκεδασθῆναι πολλαχοῦ τῆς γῆς. Καλλίνος δὲ τὸν μὲν Κάλχαντα ἐν Κλάρῳ τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον φησὶ, τοὺς δὲ λαοὺς μετὰ Μόψου τὸν Ταῦρον ὑπερθέοντας τοὺς μὲν ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ μέναι, τοὺς δ' ἐν Κιλικίᾳ μερισθῆναι καὶ Συρίᾳ μέχρι καὶ Φοινίκης.

Ath. 12. 525c ἀπώλουντο δὲ καὶ Μάγνητες οἱ πρὸς τῷ Μαιάνδρῳ διὰ τὸ πλεόν ἀνεθῆναι, ὥς φησι Καλλίνος ἐν τοῖς Ἐλεγείοις καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος· εἰλῶσαν γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἐφεσίων.

Paus 9 9 5 [π τῶν Ἐπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας]· ἔτεσι δὲ οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον ὁμοῦ Θερασάνδρῳ στρατευούσιν ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας, οὓς Ἐπιγόνους καλοῦσιν Ἕλληνας. . . ἐποιήθη δὲ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον καὶ ἔπη Θηβαίοις· τὰ δὲ ἔπη ταῦτα Καλλίνος,¹

LIFE OF CALLINUS

was occupied by the Milesians. Now Callinus speaks of the Magnesians as a still prosperous people and successful in their war against the Ephesians, while Archilochus clearly knows of their destruction when he says: 'I bewail the woes of Thasos, not of Magnesia'; from which we may judge that he comes later than Callinus. It is an earlier invasion of the Cimmerians of which Callinus speaks in the line 'Now comes upon us the army of the dastard Cimmerians,' which he connects with the taking of Sardis.

The Same. We are told by Herodotus¹ that the Pamphylians belonged to a combination of peoples who went forth from Troy with Amphilocheus and Calchas. Though most of them remained behind, some were scattered over the face of the earth. According to Callinus, Calchas died at Clarus, but the peoples crossed the Taurus under Mopsus and partly stayed in Pamphylia and partly were distributed through Cilicia and Syria as far as Phoenicia.

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner*. The Magnesians of Magnesia on the Maeander were destroyed, as we read in the *Elegiac Poems* of Callinus and in Archilochus, by excessive luxury, their city being captured by the Ephesians.

Pausanias *Description of Greece* [the Seven against Thebes]: A few years later, Thebes was attacked by an expedition under Thersander, called by the Greeks that of the *Epigoni* or Young Generation. . . . On this war the Thebans possessed Epic poems, and these

¹ 7. 91

¹ mss Καλαίῖνος

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

ἀφικόμενος αὐτῶν ἐς μνήμην, ἔφησεν Ὅμηρον τὸν ποιήσαντα εἶναι· Καλλίνῳ¹ δὲ πολλοί τε καὶ ἄξιοι λόγου κατὰ ταῦτα ἔγνωσαν. ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν ποίησιν ταύτην μετὰ γε Ἰλιάδα καὶ τὰ ἔπη τὰ ἐς Ὀδυσσέα ἐπαινῶ μάλιστα.

Phot *Bibl.* 319b 11 [π. ἐλεγείας]· λέγει δὲ (ὁ Πρόκλος) καὶ ἀριστεύσαι τῷ μέτρῳ Καλλίνόν τε τὸν Ἐφέσιον καὶ Μίμνερμον τὸν Κολοφώνιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Τηλέφου Φιλητᾶν τὸν Κῶν καὶ Καλλίμαχον τὸν Βάττου.

Clem Al. *Str.* i. 144S Σημωνίδης μὲν οὖν κατὰ Ἀρχίλοχον φέρεται, Καλλίνος δὲ πρεσβύτερος οὐ μακρῷ· τῶν γὰρ Μαγνήτων ὁ μὲν Ἀρχίλοχος ὀλωλότων, ὁ δὲ εὐημερούντων μέμνηται· Εὐμήλος δὲ ὁ Κορίνθιος πρεσβύτερος ὣν ἐπιβεβληκέναι Ἀρχία τῷ Συρακούσας κτίσαντι.

ΚΑΛΛΙΝΟΥ ΕΛΕΓΕΙΩΝ

1

Stob. *Fl.* 51. 19 [π. τόλμης] Καλλίνου

Μέχρις τεῦ κατάκεισθε ; κότ' ἄλκιμον ἔξετε θυμόν,
ὦ νέοι ; οὐδ' αἰδεῖσθ' ἀμφιπερικτίονας
ὦδε λήην μεθιέντες ; ἐν εἰρήνῃ δὲ δοκεῖτε
ἦσθαι, ἀτὰρ πόλεμος γαῖαν ἅπασαν ἔχει ;²

5 καὶ τις ἀποθνήσκων ὕστατ' ἀκοντισάτω.
τιμῆν τε γάρ ἐστι καὶ ἀγλαὸν ἀνδρὶ μάχεσθαι
γῆς πέρι καὶ παίδων κουριδίης τ' ἀλόχου

¹ mss Καλαίνω

² no indication of lacuna in mss

CALLINUS

Callinus, when he had occasion to speak of them, ascribed to Homer, an ascription which finds agreement among many competent authorities, and for my part I put this poetry second only to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

Photius *Library* [on Elegy]: Among the chief writers in this metre Proclus places Callinus of Ephesus and Mimnermus of Colophon, and also Philetas son of Telephus, of Cos, and Callimachus son of Battus.

Clement of Alexandria *Miscellanies*. Semonides is made contemporary with Archilochus, and Callinus comes a little earlier, Archilochus speaking of Magnesia as destroyed¹ and Callinus as still flourishing. Eumelus of Corinth is said to have belonged to an earlier date and been contemporary with Archias the founder of Syracuse.²

THE ELEGIAC POEMS OF CALLINUS

1

Stobaeus *Anthology* [in praise of courage]: Callinus:—

How long will ye lie idle?³ When, young men,
will ye show a stout heart? Have ye no shame of
your sloth before them that dwell round about you?
Purpose ye to sit in peace though the land is full of
war?

.

and let every man cast his javelin once more as he dies.
For 'tis an honourable thing and a glorious to a man to
fight the foe for land and children and wedded wife;

¹ c. 650 B.C. (see vol. ii., Archil.) ² see *L.G.* i. p. 12;
Syracuse was founded in 734 B.C. ³ cf. Corinna 41 (*L.G.* iii)

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

- δυσμενέσιν· θάνατος δὲ τότε ἔσσεται, ὅπποτε¹
κεν δῇ
- Μοῖραι ἐπικλώσωσ'· ἀλλὰ τις ἰθὺς ἵτω
- 10 ἔγχος ἀνασχόμενος καὶ ὑπ' ἀσπίδος ἄλκιμον ἦτορ
ἔλσας τὸ πρῶτον μειγνυμένου πολέμου·
οὐ γάρ κως θάνατόν γε φυγεῖν εἰμαρμένον ἐστὶν
ἄνδρ', οὐδ' εἰ προγόνων ἢ γένος ἀθανάτων,
πολλάκι δηιοτῆτα φυγὼν καὶ δοῦπον ἀκόντων
- 15 ἔρχεται, ἐν δ' οἴκῳ μοῖρα κίχεν θανάτου·
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἔμπης δῆμῳ φίλος οὐδὲ ποθεινός,
τὸν δ' ὀλίγος στενάχει καὶ μέγας, ἣν τι πάθῃ·
λαῶ γὰρ σύμπαντι πόθος κρατερόφρονος ἀνδρὸς
θνήσκοντος, ζῶων δ' ἄξιος ἡμιθέων·
- 20 ὥσπερ γὰρ πύργον μιν² ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὀρώσιν·
ἔρδει γὰρ πολλῶν ἄξια μούνος ἐών.

2

εἰς Δία

Str 14 633 Σμύρνα ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ Ἑφεσος καὶ Καλλίνος που
οὕτως ὠνόμακεν αὐτήν, Σμυρναίους τοὺς Ἑφεσίους καλῶν ἐν τῷ
πρὸς Δία λόγῳ³

Σμυρναίους δ' ἐλέησον

καὶ πάλιν

μνησai δ' εἴ κοτέ τοι μηρία καλὰ βοῶν
<Σμυρναῖοι κατέκηαν.>⁴

¹ Bach δκκότε ² mss μιν πύργον from Od. 11. 556
³ A Croiset sugg. νόμῳ ⁴ Cas.

CALLINUS

and death shall befall only when the Fates ordain it. Nay, so soon as war is mingled let each go forward spear in poise and shield before stout heart; for by no means may a man escape death, nay not if he come of immortal lineage. Oftentime, it may be, he returneth safe from the conflict of battle and the thud of spears, and the doom of death cometh upon him at home; yet such is not dear to the people nor regretted, whereas if aught happen to the other sort he is bewailed of small and great. When a brave man dieth the whole people regretteth him, and while he lives he is as good as a demigod; for in their eyes he is a tower, seeing that he doeth single-handed as good work as many together

2

TO ZEUS

Strabo *Geography*. Ephesus used to be called Smyrna, as for instance in a passage of Callinus, who in addressing Zeus¹ calls its inhabitants Smyrnaeans.

and have pity on the Smyrnaeans;
and again

and remember if e'er to Thee fair thighs of oxen
[Smyrnaeans have burnt] ²

¹ or emending the *Gk* in his *Nome* to Zeus
Casaubon

² supplied by

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

3

Ibid. 647 ἄλλης δέ τις ἐφίδου τῶν Κιμμερίων μέμνηται
πρεσβυτέρως ὁ Καλλίνος, ἐπὰν φῇ·

νῦν δ' ἐπὶ Κιμμερίων στρατὸς ἔρχεται ὀβρι-
μοεργῶν.¹

ἐν ᾗ τὴν Σάρδεων ἄλωσιν δηλοῖ.

4

Steph Byz. Τρήρες· Θράκιον ἔθνος λέγεται καὶ τρισυλλάβως
παρὰ Καλλίνῳ τῷ ποιητῇ·

Τρήρεας ἄνδρας ἄγων

¹ mss ὀμβριμοεργῶν, ὀβριμος (ὀμβ) ἔργων, ὀβριμοεργής

CALLINUS

3¹

The Same: Another and an earlier invasion of the Cimmerians is mentioned by Callinus, where he says.

and now cometh the host of dastardly Cimmerians;
where he refers to the sack of Sardis ²

4

Stephanus of Byzantium *Lexicon*: The name of the Trerians, a Thracian people, is given with three syllables in the poet Callinus

bringing the Trerians ²

¹ cf. Str 13. 627, Theogn 113, 603

² see p. 40

ΤΤΡΤΑΙΟΥ

Βίος

Suid Τυρταῖος· (α') Ἀρχεμβρότου, Λάκων ἡ Μιλήσιος, ἐλεγειοποιὸς καὶ αὐλητής· ὃν λόγος τοῖς μέλεσι χρησάμενον παροτρῦναι Λακεδαιμονίους πολεμοῦντας Μεσσηνίοις καὶ ταύτῃ ἐπικρατεστέρους ποιῆσαι. ἔστι δὲ παλαιάτατος, σύγχρονος τοῖς Ἑπτὰ κληθεῖσι Σοφοῖς, ἡ καὶ παλαιότερος. ἤκμαζε γοῦν κατὰ τὴν λε' Ὀλυμπιάδα ἔγραψε Πολιτείαν Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ὑποθήκας δι' ἐλεγείας, καὶ μέλη πολεμιστήρια, βιβλία ε'. (β') ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὤμοσαν ἡ Μεσσήνην αἰρήσειν ἡ αὐτοὶ τεθνήξασθαι. χρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ στρατηγὸν παρὰ Ἀθηναίων λαβεῖν, λαμβάνουσι Τυρταῖον τὸν ποιητὴν, χολὸν ἄνδρα· ὃς ἐπ' ἀρετὴν αὐτοὺς παρακαλῶν εἶλε τῷ κ' ἔτει τὴν Μεσσήνην. καὶ ταύτην κατέσκαψαν, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐν τοῖς Εἰλώσι κατέταξαν.

Plat. Legg 629a ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΞΕΝΟΣ, ΜΕΓΙΛΛΟΣ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΣ, ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ ΚΡΗΣ ΑΘ Προσπησώμεθα γοῦν Τύρταιον, τὸν φύσει μὲν Ἀθηναῖον, τῶνδε δὲ (τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων) πολίτην γενόμενον, ὃς δὴ μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων περὶ ταῦτα ἐσπούδακεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι· Ὅυτ' ἂν μνησαίμην οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ ἄνδρα τιθείμην, οὔτ' εἰ τις πλουσιώτατος ἀνθρώ-

TYRTAEUS

LIFE

Suidas *Lexicon*: Tyrtaeus :—(1) Son of Archembrotus, a Laconian or a Milesian, writer of Elegy and fluteplayer, who is said to have encouraged the Lacedaemonians by his songs in their war with the Messenians, and in this way to have given them the upper hand. He is of very ancient date, being contemporary with the Seven Sages as they are called, or even before them. He flourished in the 35th Olympiad (640-37 B.C.). He wrote for the Lacedaemonians a poem called *Citizenship* and *Exhortations* in Elegiac verse, as well as War-Songs, five Books. (2) The Lacedaemonians had sworn that they would take Messenè or perish, and when the oracle told them to take a general from among the Athenians, took the lame poet Tyrtaeus, who put fresh heart into them and took Messenè in the twentieth year of the war. They razed the city to the ground and made Helots of the prisoners ¹

Plato *Laws* (ATHENIAN STRANGER, MEGILLUS THE SPARTAN, and the CRETAN CLEINIAS). · ATH Let us cite in support the Athenian born who was given Lacedaemonian citizenship, Tyrtaeus, who stands without a rival in his zeal for such things, saying 'I would neither call a man to mind nor put him in my tale, no not if he were' the richest of men nor

¹ cf Hes Mil. 67

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πων εἴη, φησίν, οὐτ' εἰ πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ κεκτημένος, εἰπὼν σχεδὸν ἅπαντα, ὃς μὴ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἄριστος γίγνεται· αἰεὶ. ταῦτα γὰρ ἀκήκοάς ποῦ καὶ σὺ τὰ ποιήματα· ὃδε μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι διακορῆς αὐτῶν ἐστὶ. ME Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. ΚΑ Καὶ μὴν καὶ παρ' ἡμᾶς ἐλήλυθε κομισθέντα ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνων.

Sch. *ad loc.* ὁ Τυρταῖος οὗτος Ἀθηναῖος ἐγένετο, εὐτελής τὴν τύχην· γραμματίστης γὰρ ἦν καὶ χωλὸς τὸ σῶμα, καταφρονούμενος ἐν Ἀθήναις. τοῦτον Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔχρησεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων μεταπέμψασθαι, ὅτε πρὸς Μεσσηνίους εἶχον τὴν μάχην καὶ ἐν ἀπορίᾳ κατέστησαν πολλῇ, ὥς δὴ ἱκανοὺ αὐτοῖς ἐσομένου πρὸς τὸ συνιδεῖν τὸ λυσιτελές· αὐτῷ γὰρ ἐπέτρεψε χρῆσασθαι συμβούλῃ. ἀφικόμενος δὲ οὗτος εἰς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ ἐπίπνους γενόμενος συνεβούλευσεν αὐτοῖς ἀνελεῖσθαι τὸν πρὸς Μεσσηνίους πόλεμον, προτρέπων παντοίως· ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸ φερόμενον εἰπεῖν ἔπος· ‘Μεσσήνην ἀγαθὸν μὲν ἀροῦν, ἀγαθὸν δὲ φυτεύειν.’ τοῦτον οὖν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ παρέλαβεν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ξένος, ὥς καὶ αὐτὸν πολέμου σύμβουλον γεγονότα.

Paus 4 15 6 [π. τοῦ Μεσσηνιακοῦ πολέμου τοῦ δευτέρου]· ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἐπάγεσθαι σύμβουλον· ἀποστέλλουσιν οὖν παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸν τε χρησμὸν ἀπαγγελοῦντας, καὶ ἄνδρα αἰτοῦντας παραινέσοντα ἃ χρή σφισιν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐδέτερα θέλοντες, οὔτε Λακεδαιμόνιους ἄνευ μεγάλων κινδύνων προσλαβεῖν μοῖραν τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τὴν ἀρίστην, οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ παρα-

LIFE OF TYRTAEUS

possessed of many good things—and then he gives a pretty complete list of them—, if he did not show himself always best in war. Probably you, Cleinias, have heard these poems ; of course Megillus knows them almost too well.—MEG. Yes, almost.—CLEIN. Yes, they have been imported into Crete from Lacedaemon ; so we know them, too.

Scholiast on the passage : This Tyrtaeus was an obscure Athenian, being a lame schoolmaster, thought little of at Athens. When they had come to their wits' end in fighting the Messenians, the Spartans were told by Apollo's oracle to fetch this man ; he would be able to make them see what was to their advantage. Indeed the oracle bade them make him their adviser. When he arrived in Lacedaemon he became inspired, and urged them to renew the war by all and every means in his power, including the well-known line 'Messenè is good to plough and good to plant' This then is the man mentioned by the Athenian Stranger as an example of one who counselled war

Pausanias *Description of Greece* [the Second Messenian War] The Spartans were bidden by the Delphic oracle to get 'the Athenian' for their counsellor, and accordingly sent Athens word of the answer they had received, and asked for a man to advise them what to do. Neither desiring that the Lacedaemonians should annex, with no great risk run, the richest part of the Peloponnese, nor yet

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κοῦσαι τοῦ θεοῦ, πρὸς ταῦτα ἐξευρίσκουσι καὶ (ἦν γὰρ Τυρταῖος διδάσκαλος γραμμάτων, νοῦν τε ἡκιστα ἔχειν δοκῶν καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ποδῶν χωλός) τοῦτον ἀποστέλλουσιν ἐς Σπάρτην. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος ἰδία τε τοῖς ἐν τέλει καὶ συνάγων ὁπόσους τύχη, καὶ ἐλεγεία καὶ τὰ ἔπη σφίσι τὰ ἀνάπαιστα ᾗδεν.

Diog. L. 2 43 οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐπὶ Σωκράτους Ἀθηναῖοι πεπόνθασι τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστον ὄσων. καὶ γὰρ Ὀμηρον, καθ' ἃ φησιν Ἡρακλείδης, πεντήκοντα δραχμαῖς ὡς μαινόμενον ἐξημίωσαν, καὶ Τυρταῖον παρακόπτειν ἔλεγον, καὶ Ἀστυδάμαντα πρότερον τῶν περὶ Αἰσχύλον ἐτίμησαν εἰκόνι χαλκῇ.

Plat. Legg. 667 . . . ὃν δὴ κατ' ἀρχὰς εἵπομεν τῶν Τυρταίου πολεμικῶν εἶναι πολεμικώτερον.

Ibid 858d ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΞΕΝΟΣ, ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ ΚΡΗΣ ΑΘ
'Αλλὰ δῆτα οὐ χρή τὸν νομοθέτην μόνον τῶν γραφόντων περὶ καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ δικαίων συμβουλεύειν, διδάσκοντα οἷά τέ ἐστι καὶ ὡς ἐπιτηδευτέον αὐτὰ τοῖς μέλλουσιν εὐδαίμοσιν ἔσεσθαι; κλ Καὶ πῶς οὔ; αθ Ἀλλὰ αἰσχροὺν δὴ μᾶλλον Ὀμήρῳ τε καὶ Τυρταίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ποιηταῖς περὶ βίου τε καὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων κακῶς θέσθαι γράψαντας, Λυκούργῳ δὲ ἥττον καὶ Σόλωνι καὶ ὅσοι δὴ νομοθέται γενόμενοι γράμματα ἔγραψαν;

Polyaen 1. 17 Τυρταῖος Λακεδαιμονίων μελλόντων παρατάττεσθαι Μεσσηνίοις καὶ βεβου-

LIFE OF TYRTAEUS

willing to turn a deaf ear to the words of the God, the Athenians found the man they sought in a schoolmaster called Tyrtaeus who appeared to have little sense and was lame in one leg, and despatched him to Sparta, where he sang Elegiac verse and the Anapaestic lines¹ both privily to the government and to any he could gather to hear him.

Diogenes Laertius *Life of Socrates* : This behaviour of the Athenians is not peculiar to the case of Socrates but is found in a great many others. If we may believe Heracleides, they fined Homer fifty drachmas for a madman, spoke of Tyrtaeus as out of his mind, and honoured Astydamas with a bronze statue in preference to men like Aeschylus.²

Plato *Laws* : . . . whom we presumed originally to be more warlike than the War-Songs of Tyrtaeus.

The Same : ATHENIAN STRANGER and CLEINIAS THE CRETAN : ATH. But really, is it not right that the lawgiver should be the only writer to advise on what is beautiful and what is good and what is just, teaching us both what they are and how they should be practised by a people that is to be happy?—CL. Of course it is—ATH. And is it not more disgraceful for Homer and Tyrtaeus and the other poets to have laid down evil precepts about life and institutions in their writings, than for Lycurgus and Solon and the other men who became men of letters after they had become legislators?

Polyaenus *Stratagems* . When the Spartans were about to engage the Messenians, and, having re-

¹ *Lyra Graeca* iii 534

² see vol. II, Astydamas.

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λευμένων νικᾶν ἢ ἀποθανεῖν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, ἵνα δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἐν τῇ τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναιρέσει γνωρίζοιτο ἕκαστος, ἐπὶ τὰς σκυταλίδας τοῦνομα γραψάντων καὶ περὶ τῇ λαιᾷ χειρὶ φερόντων, βουλόμενος ἐκπληῆσαι τοὺς Μεσσηνίους τοῦτο μαθόντας παρήγγειλε μὴ παρατηρεῖν τοὺς αὐτομολοῦντας Εἰλωτας. οἱ δὲ μηδενὸς παραφυλάττοντος ἀνέδην αὐτομολήσαντες ἤγγειλαν τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις τὴν ἀπόνοιαν τὴν Λακωνικὴν. οἱ δὲ καταπλαγέντες ἀσθενέστερον ἀγωνισάμενοι τὴν νίκην οὐ διὰ μακροῦ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔδωκαν.

Diod. Sic 8. 36 Ἀριστομένης . . . πολλὰ κακὰ διεργάσατο τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας, ὅτε καὶ Τυρταῖος ὁ ποιήτης ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἡγεμῶν ἐδόθη τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις.

Ath. 14 630e [π. πυρρίχης]. ἐμφανίζει δ' ἡ ὄρχησις πολεμικὴ οὔσα ὡς Λακεδαιμονίων εὔρημα πολεμικοὶ δ' εἰσὶν οἱ Λάκωνες, ὧν καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ τὰ ἐμβατήρια μέλη ἀναλαμβάνουσιν, ἅπερ καὶ ἐνόπλια καλεῖται. καὶ αὐτοὶ δ' οἱ Λάκωνες ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τὰ Τυρταίου ποιήματα ἀπομνημονεύοντες ἔρρυθμον κίνησιν ποιοῦνται. Φιλόχορος δέ φησιν κρατήσαντας Λακεδαιμονίους Μεσσηνίων διὰ τὴν Τυρταίου στρατηγίαν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις ἔθος ποιήσασθαι, ἂν δειπνοποιήσωνται καὶ παιωνίσωσιν ἄδειν καθ' ἓνα <τὰ> Τυρταίου· κρίνειν δὲ τὸν πολέμαρχον καὶ ἄθλον διδόναι τῷ νικῶντι κρέας.

LIFE OF TYRTAEUS

solved to conquer or die, had inscribed each man's name on a letter-stick attached to the left hand so that his friends could recognise him when the dead were taken up for burial, Tyrtaeus, desiring to strike terror into the Messenians by letting them know what the Spartans had done, gave orders that no great heed should be taken of deserting Helots, and the watch being relaxed these deserted as they chose, and told the Messenians of the desperate valour of their enemies. Terror weakened their resistance, and it was not long before they had given the Spartans the victory.

Diodorus of Sicily *Historical Library*: . . Aris-
tomenes had done the Spartans much damage, when
the poet Tyrtaeus was given them by the Athenians
to be their general.

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner* [the pyrrhic dance].
The warlike character of the dance proves it a Spartan
invention. The Lacedaemonians are a warlike
people, and not only do their sons learn by rote the
Embaterna or Songs of the Battle-Charge which are
also called *Enoplia* or Songs-under-Arms,¹ but in
war they themselves recite the poems of Tyrtaeus
from memory and move in time to them. We are
told by Philochorus that after the Spartans had
defeated the Messenians by the generalship of
Tyrtaeus, they made it the custom of their military
expeditions that when the Paean had been sung
after supper the songs of Tyrtaeus should be given
one by each man, the polemarch to decide who sang
the best and give the winner a prize of meat.

¹ cf *Lyra Graeca*, l.c.

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

Plut. *Soll. Anim.* 1. 1 τὸν Τυρταῖον ὁ Λεωνίδας
ἐρωτηθεὶς ποῖόν τινα νομίζοι, 'Ἀγαθὸν ποιητήν'
ἔφη 'νέων ψυχὰς κακκονήν.'¹

ΤΥΡΤΑΙΟΥ ΕΛΕΓΕΙΩΝ

1

Pap. ap *Sitz ber d. Preuss Akad d. Wiss.* 1918 729 Fr.
A col 1²

. . .]ηρας τε λίθων κα] . . .

[μυιάων ἀδινῶ]ν³ ἔθνεσιν εἶδομ[ένους.]

[τοὺς μὲν ἔλεν⁴ β]ροτολοιγὸς Ἄρης ἀκ[όρητος
αὐτῆς]⁵

[σὺν μάχῃ εὐ]θείῃ,⁴ τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ ἄ[κρα βάλεν.]³

[ἡμεῖς οὖν πάρνοψι]ν⁴ εἰκότες ἦ [γεράνοισιν]³

11 [στείχωμε]ν⁴ κοίλῃς ἀσπίσι φραξάμ[ενοι,]

χωρὶς Πάμφυλοί τε καὶ Ἑλλεῖς ἡδ[ὲ Δυμᾶνες]

ἀνδροφόνους μελίας χερσὶν ἀν[ασχόμενοι]

[οὕτω]⁴ δ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖς ἐπὶ πάντ[α τιθέντες]⁶

15 [ἱερῶ]⁴ ἀτερμονίῃ πεισόμεθ' ἡγεμ[όνοι.]⁷

ἀλλ' εὐθὺς σύμπαντες ἀλοιησεῦ[μεν ἀμαρτῇ]

[ἀ]νδράσιν αἰχμηταῖς ἐγγύθεν ἰσ[τάμενοι.]

¹ κατακονᾶν ² restored on right by Wil-Schub-Lobel-Geicke, Gercke's supplements on left too short in ll 9, 11, too long in ll 14, 20: l. 6 Diels sugg *πήρας* and *καὶ θήκας διστῶν* ³ Ger -E ⁴ E ⁵ Diehl sugg *δμοκλῆς*, cf. Quint. Sm 1 561 Ἄρης ἀκ ὁμ. ⁶ cf Archil. 56 (Wil, who

TYRTAEUS

Plutarch *Sagacity of Animals*: When Leonidas was asked what he thought of Tyrtaeus, he replied 'A good poet for sharpening the courage of the young'

See also Paus 4. 16. 2-6, 18. 1-3, Ael. *V.H.* 12. 50, Plut. *Ap. Lac* Paus. *Cleombr.* 230d, *Vit. Cleom.* 2, Dio Chr. *Or.* 36 440, Themist. 15. 197d, Harp *Τυρταῖος*, Quint. 10. 1. 56, 12. 11. 27, Hor. *A.P.* 401 and Sch., Just. 3. 5. 9.

THE ELEGIAC POEMS OF TYRTAEUS

1

From a Papyrus of the 3rd Century B.C.¹

. . . of stones . . . ² like tribes of [swarming flies.³ Some of them did] Ares, bane of men, [hungry for the war-cry, take in open fight ⁴], others [cast he] over the [crag. Let us, then,] go forward behind our hollow shields like [a flight of locusts] ⁵ or [of cranes], Pamphyli, Hylleis, [Dymanes],⁶ each tribe severally brandishing its man-slaying ashen spears. And [thus ordered, entrusting] all to the Immortal Gods, we shall obey our [holy] leader ⁷ for ever without end. But in a moment one and all [together] shall we be wielding the flail, standing up

¹ preceded by a mutilated column containing ἀγαλλομένη rejoicing in, κροκόεντα yellow, [τερ]άεσσι Διὸς signs from Zeus

² perh pouches of slingstones and quivers of arrows (Diels)

³ cf *Il* 2. 469 ⁴ cf *Il* 17 168 ⁵ cf. *Ar Ach* 150

⁶ the three Spartan 'tribes' ⁷ one of the two Spartan kings

however prefers τρέποντες in spite of the metrical difficulty)

⁷ Wil.-E

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

- δεινὸς δ' ἀμφοτέρων ἔσται κτύπος [ἀντιτιθέντων]
 ἀσπίδας εὐκύκλους ἀσπίσι τυπτ[ομένας,]
 [αἰνὰ δ' αὐτ]ήσουσιν¹ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι π[εσόντες,]
 21 [ᾠσαντε]ς¹ δ' ἀνδρῶν στήθεσιν ἀμ[φὶ δόρυ·]¹
 [κούδ' ἐν]² ἐρώησουσιν ἐρεικόμενο[ι βελέεσσιν,]³
 [ἀλλ' ὑπ]ὸ² χερμαδίων βαλλόμεναι μ[εγάλων]
 [ἀκλινέες] κ[όρυθ]ες καταχῆν ἔξου[σιν ἀρήν].¹

1A

Ibid. Fr. B col. 1 (3)

- Διωνύσοι]ο τιθήνην
 καλλικό]μου Σεμέλης
 (7 ll lost or much mutilated)
 10 ἀ]εθλοφόροι περὶ νίκης
 τ]έρμ' ἐπιδερκόμενοι
 ἐ]ντροχον ἄρμα φέροντες
]όμενοι
 ἐπισσ]εύοντας ὀπίσσω
 15]χαίτᾱς ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς
]συνοίσομεν ὄξυν Ἄρῃα
]θεσιν [. . .
]ο[. . . ο]ὐδὲ λογήσει
]ς ἔχων

(col 2 (4) of 17 ll lost or much mutilated)

(col. 3 (5) almost entirely lost)

(col 4 (6) much mutilated, containing οἷς ἐμπαλλό-
 με[νοι], Μεσσηνίων as trisyllable, οἱ δ' ὥς ἐκ πο[λιῆς
 . . . | ἐν δὲ μέσοις ἡμεῖς, οἱ δ' ὥς ἐκ πο[λιῆς
 ἀλὸς . . .] | κύματα . . . | τοῖς ἵκελοι, Ἡρῆς
 αἰδοίης, εὐτ' ἂν Τυνδαρί[δαι . . .])

TYRTAEUS

to spearmen; and dire will be the din when both sides clash rounded shield against rounded shield, [and awful the shrieks] as they fall one upon another, [piercing] men's breasts with [the spear; and no whit] will they draw back for the pounding [of the missiles, nay,] despite the battery of great hurl-stones, the helms shall abide the rattle [of war unbowed]

1A

From the Same.

.... nurse of Dionysus of fair-tressed Semele

(7 ll. lost or much mutilated)

.... triumphant about victory looking to the end bringing a wheeled chariot -ing hastening [them] backward locks over [her] head we will bear keen War together nor will [he] tell in story (?)
 . . . having

(col. 2 (4) of 17 ll. lost or much mutilated)

(col. 3 (5) almost entirely lost)

(col. 4 (6) much mutilated, containing wherein quivering, of the Messenians, those without . . . and we in the midst, and they as from out the [hoary sea . . .], waves . . . like to them, of august Hera, when the children of Tyndareus)

¹ E ² E (cf. *Od.* 12 75 for ἐρωέω without gen.)
³ Sitz

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

2-3 Εὐνομίας

Str 8. 362 [π Τυρταίου] καὶ γὰρ εἶναι φησιν ἐκείθεν ἐν τῇ ἐλεγείᾳ ἣν ἐπιγράφουσιν Εὐνομίαν

αὐτὸς γὰρ Κρονίων, καλλιστεφάνου πόσις Ἥρης,
Ζεὺς Ἡρακλείδαις τήνδε δέδωκε πόλιν·
οἷσιν ἅμα προλιπόντες Ἐρινεὸν ἠνεμόεντα
εὐρείαν Πέλοπος νῆσον ἀφικόμεθα.

3

Arist Pol 5 6 2 ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀριστοκρατίαις γίνονται αἱ στάσεις
. . . ἔτι ὅταν οἱ μὲν ἀπορῶσι λίαν, οἱ δὲ εὐπορῶσι καὶ μάλιστα
ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τοῦτο γίνεται συνέβη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν Λακε-
δαίμονι ὑπὸ τὸν Μεσσηνιακὸν πόλεμον. δῆλον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ
τῆς Τυρταίου ποιήσεως τῆς καλουμένης Εὐνομίας θλιβόμενοι γάρ
τινες διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἤξιον ἀνάδαστον ποιεῖν τὴν χώραν.

4

Plut. Vit Lyc. 6 τοῦ δὲ πλήθους ἀθροισθέντος εἰπεῖν μὲν οὐδενὶ
γνώμην τῶν ἄλλων ἐφείτο, τὴν δ' ὑπὸ τῶν γερόντων καὶ τῶν
βασιλέων προτεθεῖσαν ἐπικρῖναι κύριος ἦν ὁ δῆμος ὕστερον μέντοι
τῶν πολλῶν ἀφαιρέσει καὶ προσθήσει τὰς γνώμας διαστρεφόντων καὶ
παραβιζομένων, Πολύδωρος καὶ Θεόπομπος οἱ βασιλεῖς τὰδε τῇ
ρήτρᾳ παρενέγραψαν 'Αἱ δὲ σκολιὰν ὁ δᾶμος ἔλοιτο, τοὺς πρεσ-
βυγενέας καὶ ἀρχαγέτας ἀποστατήρας ἤμεν,' τοῦτ' ἔστι μὴ κυροῦν,
ἀλλ' ὅλως ἀφίστασθαι καὶ διαλύειν τὸν δῆμον, ὡς ἐκτρέποντα καὶ
μεταποιοῦντα τὴν γνώμην παρὰ τὸ βέλτιστον, ἔπεισαν δὲ καὶ
αὐτοὶ τὴν πόλιν ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα προστάσσοντος, ὥς που
Τυρταῖος ἐπιμένεται διὰ τούτων

Φοίβου ἀκούσαντες Πυθωνόθεν οἴκαδ' ἔνεικαν¹
μαντείας τε θεοῦ καὶ τελέεντ' ἔπεα·

¹ Amyot: mss οἱ τὰδε νικᾶν

¹ Strabo seems to mistake the 'we' by which T means 'we Spartans' (historically speaking) for 'you and I' of this generation, but as Erineus has not been mentioned above

TYRTAEUS

2-3 ORDERLINESS

Strabo *Geography* (Tyrtaeus]. He says he is of that place¹ in the Elegy entitled *Eunomia* or *Orderliness*

For Cronus' Son Himself, Zeus the husband of fair-crowned Hera, hath given this city to the children of Heracles, with whom we came into the wide isle of Pelops from windy Erineus.

3

Aristotle *Politics* In aristocratic states faction arises . . . also when some of the citizens have too little and others more than enough—which happens particularly often in war; for instance at Sparta about the time of the Messenian War, as appears from the poem of Tyrtaeus called *Eunomia*. Crushed by the burden of the war, certain citizens demanded a re-distribution of the land.

4

Plutarch *Life of Lycurgus*. When the commons were assembled, he suffered no other to give his opinion, but the people had the right of giving judgment on an opinion laid before them by the Elders and Kings. Later, however, when the commons began to twist and distort the opinions² of the Elders and Kings by addition and subtraction, Kings Polydorus and Theopompus inserted in the *rhetra* or ordinance the following clause 'If the commons choose a crooked opinion,³ the elderborn and arch-leaders [that is the Elders and Kings] have powers of dissolution'—which means that they may refuse to ratify it and may withdraw themselves altogether and dismiss the commons, as trying to divert and change the opinion of the Elders and Kings contrary to what is best—, and themselves persuaded the people to accept it in the belief that this was the command of the God, as indeed Tyrtaeus mentions in the following lines:

They heard the voice of Phoebus and brought home from Pytho oracles of the God and words of

there clearly has been loss in the mss ² i.e. motions

³ i.e. adopt a motion whose sense they have changed

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

ὦδε¹ γὰρ ἀργυρότοξος ἄναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων
 χρυσοκόμης ἔχρη πίνος ἐξ ἀδύτου·
 5 ἄρχειν μὲν βουλῆς² θεοτιμήτους βασιλῆας,
 οἷσι μέλει Σπάρτης ἱμερόεσσα πόλις,
 πρεσβυγενέας³ τε γέροντας· ἔπειτα δὲ δημότ᾽ αἰ
 ἄνδρας
 εὐθείαις ῥήτραις⁴ ἀνταπαμειβομένους
 μυθεῖσθαι τε τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἔρδειν πάντα δίκαια
 10 μηδέ τι βουλεύειν τῇδε πόλει <σκολιόν>,⁵
 δήμου δὲ πλήθει νίκην καὶ κάρτος ἔπεσθαι·
 Φοῖβος γὰρ περὶ τῶν ὦδ' ἀνέφηνε πόλει.

Diod. Sic 7 14 ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς Λυκοῦργος ἤνεγκε χρησμόν ἐκ
 Δελφῶν περὶ τῆς φιλαργυρίας τὸν ἐν παροιμίᾳ μέρει μνημονευό-
 μενον 'ἂ φιλοχρηματία Σπάρταν ὀλεῖ, ἀλλὰ δὲ οὐδέν· | ὦδε γὰρ
 ἀργυρότοξος — ἀνέφηνε πόλει.'

5

Paus 4. 6 5 οὗτος δὲ ὁ Θεόπομπος ἦν καὶ ὁ πέρας ἐπιθεὶς τῷ
 πολέμῳ μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τὰ ἐλεγεία τῶν Τυρταίου λέγοντα
 'Ἡμετέρῳ . . . εὐρύχορον.'

Sch. Plat *Legg* 1 629 a ἀφικόμενος (Τυρταῖος) . . . εἰς Λακε-
 δαίμονα καὶ ἐπίπνους γενόμενος συνεβούλευσεν αὐτοῖς ἀνελῆσθαι
 τὸν πρὸς Μεσσηνίους πόλεμον προτρέπων παντοίως ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸ
 φερόμενον εἰπεῖν ἔπος 'Μεσσήνην . . . φυτεύειν.'

Str 6. 279 Μεσσήνη δὲ ἐάλω πολεμηθεῖσα ἐννεακαίδεκα ἔτη,
 καθάπερ καὶ Τυρταῖος φησιν· 'ἄμφ' αὐτὴν . . . ὀρέων'

ἡμετέρῳ βασιλῇ, θεοῖσι φίλῳ Θεοπόμπῳ,
 ὃν διὰ Μεσσήνην εἵλομεν εὐρύχορον,

¹ Herm . mss δὴ: these 2 ll. not in Plut. ² so Plut :
 Diod. -λή ³ B Diod. -νεῖς, Plut. πρεσβύτας (but cf *An
 Seni* 10) ⁴ Diod. εὐθείην ῥήτρας ⁵ Bach, cf Plut .
 mss μηδέ τι ἐπιβ. τ π.

TYRTAEUS

sure fulfilment; ¹ for thus the Lord of the Silver Bow, Far-Shooting Apollo of the Golden Hair, gave answer from out his rich sanctuary: The beginning of counsel shall belong to the God-honoured Kings whose care is the delightful city of Sparta, and to the men of elder birth; after them shall the commons, answering them back with forthright ordinances, ² both say things honourable and do all that is right, nor give the city any crooked counsel; so shall the common people have victory and might; for this hath Phoebus declared unto their city in these matters.

Diodorus of Sicily *Historical Library* . . . that the same Lyncurgus brought an oracle from Delphi concerning their love of money, remembered as a proverb 'By love of pelf and nothing else shall Sparta be destroyed, for this hath Phoebus' etc.

5 3

Pausanias *Description of Greece* [the Second Messenian War] The man who brought the war to an end was this Theopompus, as is testified by the Elegiac lines of Tyrtaeus, which say 'to our King' etc. (ll. 1-2)

Scholast on Plato · On Tyrtaeus' arrival in Lacedaemon he became inspired, and urged the Spartans to end the war against the Messenians by every means in his power, among others by the famous line 'Messenè is good,' etc

Strabo *Geography*. Messenè was taken after a war of nineteen years, compare Tyrtaeus: (ll 4-8).

. . . to our king, the friend of the Gods, Theopompus, through whom we took spacious Messenè,

¹ Plut. gives ll 1-2 and 5-8, Diod 3-12; every other line (i.e. the pentameters) seems to have been added by Tyrtaeus to the original oracle (B) ² *prob* means shaping their counsel into decrees which truly represent it ³ cf. Paus. 4 15. 2 (ll. 4-6), 4. 13. 6 (ll. 7-8)

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

Μεσσήνην ἀγαθὴν μὲν ἀροῦν, ἀγαθὴν δὲ φυτεύειν,¹
 ἀμφ' αὐτὴν δ' ² ἐμάχοντ' ἐννεακαίδεκ' ἔτη
 νωλεμέως αἰεὶ, ταλασίφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,
 6 αἰχμηταὶ πατέρων ἡμετέρων πατέρες·
 εἰκοστῷ δ' οἱ μὲν κατὰ πῖονα ἔργα λιπόντες
 φεῦγον Ἴθωμαίων ἐκ μεγάλων ὀρέων.

6, 7

Paus. 4 15 5 ἐς τιμωρίας δὲ ἄς ὑβρίζον ἐς τοὺς Μεσσηνίους
 Τυρταίῳ πεποιθμένα ἐστίν

ὥσπερ ὄνοι μεγάλοις ἄχθεσι τειρόμενοι,
 δεσποσύνοισι φέροντες ἀναγκαίης ὑπο λυγρῆς
 ἡμισυ παντὸς ὅσον³ καρπὸν ἀρουρα φέρει.
 ὅτι δὲ καὶ συμπειθεῖν ἔκειτο αὐτοῖς ἀνάγκη, δεδήλωκεν ἐν τῷδε
 δεσπότης οἰμώζοντες ὁμῶς ἄλοχοί τε καὶ αὐτοί,
 εὖτε τιν' οὐλομένη μοῖρα κίχοι θανάτου.

8

Str 8 362 πλεονάκεις δ' ἐπιλέμησαν διὰ τὰς ἀποστάσεις τῶν
 Μεσσηνίων τὴν μὲν οὖν πρώτην κατάκτησιν αὐτῶν φησι Τυρταῖος
 ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι κατὰ τοὺς τῶν πατέρων πατέρας γενέσθαι τὴν δὲ
 δευτέραν, καθ' ἣν ἐλόμενοι συμμάχους Ἀργείους τε καὶ Ἀρκάδας⁴
 καὶ Πισάτας ἀπέστησαν, Ἀρκάδων μὲν Ἀριστοκράτην τὸν Ὀρχο-
 μενοῦ βασιλέα παρεχόμενων στρατηγόν, Πισατῶν δὲ Πανταλέοντα
 τὸν Ὀμφαλίονος, ἥνικα φησὶν αὐτοὺς στρατηγήσαι τὸν πόλεμον
 τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις.

9

Arist *Eth Nic.* 1116 a. 36 [π στρατιωτῶν] ἀναγκάζουσι γὰρ
 οἱ κύριοι ., καὶ οἱ προστάττοντες καὶ ἀναχωρῶσι τύπτοντες τὸ
 αὐτὸ δρῶσι, καὶ οἱ πρὸ τῶν τάφρων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων παρατάττοντες
 πάντες γὰρ ἀναναγκάζουσι δεῖ δ' οὐ δι' ἀνάγκην ἀνδρεῖον εἶναι,
 ἀλλ' ὅτι καλόν [over]

¹ Buttm. ἀγαθὸν bis mss
 mss πάνθ' ὅσον (-ων, ὅσσων)
 (filled in by a later hand in A)

² Str ἄμφω τῷδ' ³ Ahr :
⁴ Kramer. mss Ἡλείους

TYRTAEUS

Messenè so good to plough and so good to plant, for which there fought ever unceasingly nineteen years, keeping an unfaltering heart, the spearmen fathers of our fathers, and in the twentieth year the foeman left his rich lands and fled from the great uplands of Ithomè.

6, 7

Pausanias *Description of Greece* The vengeance the Spartans took on the Messenians is referred to in these lines of Tyrtæus

galled with great burdens like asses, bringing to their lords under grievous necessity a half of all the fruit of the soil.

And that they were obliged to join in their lamentations he shows in the following couplet.

making lamentation for their lords both themselves and their wives, whenever one was overtaken with the dolorous fate of Death

8

Strabo *Geography* They fought more than once because of rebellion on the part of the Messenians The first conquest, according to the poems of Tyrtæus, took place two generations before his time, and the second, when they rebelled in alliance with the Argives, Arcadians, and Pisatans, the Arcadians making Aristocrates king of Orchomenus their general and the Pisatans Pantaleon son of Omphalion; in the latter war he declares that he led the Lacedaemonians himself

9

Aristotle *Nicomachean Ethics* [on soldiers]. They are compelled to fight by their masters . . . and their generals and other officers who beat them if they give ground do the same thing, and the commanders who draw them up in front of trenches and the like—they all compel them, whereas a man should be brave not because he must but because he ought. [over]

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

Anon *ad loc.* p. 164 Heyl ὡς παρ' Ἡροδότῃ Πέρσαι ὑπὸ γὰρ τοιούτοις ἐπιστάταις ἐν Θερμοπύλαις Ἑλλησιν ἐμάχοντο 'καὶ οἱ πρὸ τῶν τάφρων' κτλ τοῦτο περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων λέγουι ἂν τοιαύτην γάρ τινα μάχην, ὅτε πρὸς Μεσσηνίους ἐπολέμουν, ἐμαχέσαντο,¹ ἥς καὶ Τυρταῖος μνημονεύει

10

Lycurg *Leoci* 107 [πρὸς Ἀθηναίους π τῶν προγόνων] οὕτως ἦσαν ἄνδρες σπουδαῖοι καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ οἱ τότε τὴν πόλιν οἰκοῦντες, ὥστε τοῖς ἀνδρειοτάτοις Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις πολεμοῦσι πρὸς Μεσσηνίους ἀνείλεν ὁ θεός, παρ' ἡμῶν ἡγεμόνα λαβεῖν καὶ νικήσειν τοὺς πολεμίους. καίτοι εἰ τοῖν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους γεγεννημένοι οἱ αἰ βασιλεύουσιν ἐν Σπάρτῃ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν ἡγεμόνας ἀμείους ὁ θεὸς ἔκρινε, πῶς οὐκ ἀνυπέμβλητον χρὴ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν νομίζειν, τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅτι Τυρταῖον στρατηγὸν ἔλαβον παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, μεθ' οὗ καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐκράτησαν καὶ τὴν περὶ τοὺς νέους ἐπιμέλειαν συνετάξαντο, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸν παρόντα κίνδυνον, ἀλλ' εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα βουλευσάμενοι καλῶς κατέλιπεν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐλεγεία ποιήσας, ὧν ἀκούοντες παιδεύονται πρὸς ἀνδρείαν καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποιητὰς οὐδένα λόγον ἔχοντες, περὶ τοῦτον οὕτω σφόδρα ἐσπουδάκασιν ὥστε νόμον ἔθεντο, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐξεστρατευμένοι ᾧσι, καλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως σκηνὴν ἀκουσομένους τῶν Τυρταίων ποιημάτων ἅπαντας, νομίζοντες οὕτως ἂν αὐτοὺς μάλιστα πρὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἐθέλειν ἀποθνήσκειν χρήσιμον δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τούτων ἀκοῦσαι τῶν ἐλεγείων, ἵν' ἐπίστησθε οἶα ποιοῦντες εὐδοκίμουν παρ' ἐκείνοις

τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι πεσόντα
 ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν περὶ ἧ πατρίδι μαρνάμενον
 τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ² προλιπόντα πόλιν καὶ πίονας ἀγροὺς
 πτωχεύειν πάντων ἔστ' ἀνιηρότατον,
 5 πλαζόμενον σὺν μητρὶ φίλῃ καὶ πατρὶ γέροντι
 παισί τε σὺν μικροῖς κουριδίῃ τ' ἀλόχῳ.
 ἐχθρὸς μὲν γὰρ τοῖσι μετέσσεται, οὓς κεν ἵκηται
 χρησμοσύνη τ' εἴκων καὶ στυγερῇ πενίῃ,

¹ mss ἐμαχ ἐπολ.

² Francke ἦν δ' αὐτοῦ

TYRTAEUS

Scholiast on the passage. As the Persians in Herodotus; for it was under such commanders that they fought the Greeks at Thermopylae 'In front of trenches' etc this he must say of the Spartans; for such was the manner of their fighting in their war with the Messenians, recorded by Tyrtaeus.

10

Lycurgus¹ *Against Leocrates* [to the Athenians about their ancestors]. So great was the energy, both public and private, of the men who then inhabited Athens, that the bravest people of Greece, in their war of long ago against the Messenians, received an oracle which bade them if they would defeat their enemies to take a leader from us. Now if the God preferred a general of Athens above the two Heracleid kings who rule at Sparta, that general must have been a man of extraordinary valour. Everyone in Greece knows that the general they took from our city was Tyrtaeus, by whose aid, with a wisdom that looked far beyond the dangers of that day, they both defeated their enemies and established their system of education. Tyrtaeus left behind him Elegiac Poems which are used to teach them courage, and a people whose practice is to take no account of poets, have made so much of Tyrtaeus as to pass a law that whenever they take the field under arms they shall all be summoned to the king's tent to hear his poems, in the belief that this will make them most willing to die for their country. And it would be well for you to hear the Elegiac verses, so that you may know what it was that made men famous among them.

For 'tis a fair thing for a good man to fall and die fighting in the van for his native land, whereas to leave his city and his rich fields and go a-begging is of all things the most miserable, wandering with mother dear and aged father, with little children and wedded wife. For hateful shall such an one be among all those to whom he shall come in bondage to Want and loathsome Penury, and doth shame

¹ the Athenian orator, 330 B.C.

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

- αἰσχύνει τε γένος, κατὰ δ' ἀγλαὸν εἶδος ἐλέγχει,
 10 πᾶσα δ' ἀτιμία καὶ κακότης ἔπεται.
 εἰ δέ τοι οὕτως ἀνδρὸς ¹ ἀλωμένου οὐδεμί' ὥρῃ
 γίγνεται οὐτ' αἰδῶς οὐτ' ὅπιν οὐτ' ἔλεος, ²
 θυμῷ γῆς περὶ τῆσδε μαχώμεθα καὶ περὶ παίδων
 θνήσκωμεν ψυχέων ³ μηκέτι φειδόμενοι.
 15 ὦ νέοι, ἀλλὰ μάχεσθε παρ' ἀλλήλοισι μένοντες,
 μηδὲ φυγῆς αἰσχυρᾶς ἄρχετε μηδὲ φόβου,
 ἀλλὰ μέγαν ποιείσθε καὶ ἄλκιμον ἐν φρεσὶ θυμόν,
 μηδὲ φιλοψυχεῖτ' ἀνδράσι μαρνάμενοι·
 τοὺς δὲ παλαιοτέρους, ὧν οὐκέτι γούνατ' ἐλαφρά,
 20 μὴ καταλείποντες φεύγετε γηπετέας. ⁴
 αἰσχυρὸν γὰρ δὴ ⁵ τοῦτο, μετὰ προμάχοισι πεσόντα
 κεῖσθαι πρόσθε νέων ἄνδρα παλαιότερον,
 ἥδη λευκὸν ἔχοντα κάρη πολλίον τε γένειον,
 θυμὸν ἀποπνεύοντ' ἄλκιμον ἐν κοινῇ,
 25 αἵματόεντ' αἰδοῖα φίλαις ⁶ ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντα—
 αἰσχυρὰ τὰ γ' ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ νεμεσητὸν ⁷ ἰδεῖν—
 καὶ χροῖα γυμνωθέντα· νέω δέ τε ⁸ πάντ' ἐπέοικεν
 ὄφρ' ἐρατῆς ⁹ ἥβης ἀγλαὸν ἄνθος ἔχῃ·
 ἀνδράσι μὲν θηητὸς ¹⁰ ἰδεῖν, ἐρατὸς δὲ γυναιξίν,
 30 ζῶος ἐών, καλὸς δ' ἐν προμάχοισι πεσών.
 ἀλλὰ τις εὖ διαβὰς μενέτω ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροισιν
 στηριχθεὶς ἐπὶ γῆς, χεῖλος ὁδοῦσι δακῶν.

11

Stob Fl 50 7 [π πολέμου] Τυρταίου·

ἀλλ' Ἑρακλῆος γὰρ ἀνικῆτου γένος ἔστε,
 θαρσεῖτ'· οὐπω Ζεὺς αὐχένα λοξὸν ἔχει·

¹ Francke-Wil· mss εἴθ' οὕτως ἀνδρὸς τοι ² B: mss οὐτ' ὀπίσω τέλος, εἰσοπίσω τελέθει ³ Ald mss ψυχῶν ⁴ E mss τοὺς γηραιούς (one γερ), emendation of hapl φευγετέας: ms reading suspect because otiose ⁵ mss also μὲν γὰρ

TYRTAEUS

his lineage and belie his noble beauty, followed by all evil and dishonour. Now if so little thought be taken of a wanderer, and so little honour, respect, or pity, let us fight with a will for this land, and die for our children and never spare our lives.

Abide then, O young men, shoulder to shoulder and fight; begin not foul flight nor yet be afraid, but make the heart in your breasts both great and stout, and never shrink when you fight the foe.¹ And the elder sort, whose knees are no longer nimble, fly not ye to leave them fallen to earth.² For 'tis a foul thing, in sooth, for an elder to fall in the van and lie before the younger, his head white and his beard hoary, breathing forth his stout soul in the dust, with his privities³ all bloody in his hands, a sight so foul to see and fraught with such ill to the seer, and his flesh also all naked; yet to a young man all is seemly enough, so long as he have the noble bloom of lovely youth, aye a marvel he for men to behold, and desirable unto women, so long as ever he be alive, and fair in like manner when he be fallen in the vanguard. So let each man bite his lip with his teeth and abide firm-set astride upon the ground.

11

Stobaeus *Anthology* [on war] Tyrtaeus —

Ye are of the lineage of the invincible Heracles⁴; so be ye of good cheer; not yet is the head of Zeus

¹ cf. *Il.* 9. 327 ² reading doubtful ³ or *perh.*
emending the Gr. entrails ⁴ cf. [Plut.] *Nobil* 2 1

⁶ αἵματόεν νῆδυιον εἰαῖς⁷ *E*, cf. Xen *An* 2 5 33 ⁷ Francke
-τὰ ⁸ Thiersch, cf. *Il.* 22. 71 mss νέοισι δὲ ⁹ most mss
ἀπερῆς, ἀρα τῆς ¹⁰ Reiske mss θυητοῖσιν

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

- μηδ' ἀνδρῶν πληθὺν δειμαίνετε μηδὲ φοβεῖσθε,
 ἰθὺς δ' ἐς προμάχους ἀσπίδ' ἀνὴρ ἐχέτω,
 5 ἐχθρὰν μὲν ψυχὴν θέμενος, θανάτου δὲ μελαίνας
 κῆρας <ὁμῶς>¹ αὐγαῖς ἡελίοιο φίλας.
 ἴστε γὰρ Ἀρῆος² πολυδακρύου ἔργ' αἰδήλα,³
 εὖ δ' ὀργὴν ἐδάητ' ἀργαλέου πολέμου,
 καὶ θαμὰ φευγόντων τε διωκόντων τε γέγευσθε,⁴
 10 ὦ νέοι, ἀμφοτέρων δ' ἐς κόρον ἡλάσατε.
 οὐ μὲν γὰρ τολμῶσι παρ' ἀλλήλοισι μένοντες
 ἐς τ' αὐτοσχεδίην καὶ προμάχους ἵεναι,
 παυρότεροι θνήσκουσι, σαοῦσι δὲ λαὸν ὀπίσσω·
 τρεσσάντων δ' ἀνδρῶν πᾶσ' ἀπόλωλ' ἀρετή·
 15 οὐδεὶς ἄν ποτε ταῦτα λέγων ἀνύσειεν ἕκαστα,
 ὅσσ', ἣν⁵ αἰσχροῦ πάθη, γίγνεται ἀνδρὶ κακά.
 ἀρπαλέον⁶ γὰρ ὅπισθε μετάφρενός ἐστι δαΐζειν
 ἀνδρὸς φεύγοντος δητῶ ἐν πολέμῳ,
 αἰσχροῦν⁷ δ' ἐστὶ νέκυς κακκείμενος ἐν κονίησι
 20 νῶτον ὅπισθ' αἰχμῇ δουρὸς ἐληλαμένος.
 ἀλλὰ τις εὖ διαβὰς μενέτω ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροισιν
 στηριχθεὶς ἐπὶ γῆς, χεῖλος ὁδοῦσι δακῶν,
 μηρούς τε κνήμας τε κάτω καὶ στέρνα καὶ ὦμους
 ἀσπίδος εὐρείης γαστρὶ καλυψάμενος
 25 δεξιτερῇ δ' ἐν χειρὶ τινασσέτω ὄβριμον ἔγχος,
 κινεῖτω δὲ λόφον δεινὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς·
 ἔρδων δ' ὄβριμα ἔργα διδασκέσθω πολεμίζειν,
 μηδ' ἐκτὸς βελέων ἐστάτω ἀσπίδ' ἔχων.
 ἀλλὰ τις ἐγγὺς ἰὼν αὐτοσχεδὸν ἔγχεϊ μακρῷ
 30 ἢ ξίφει οὐτάζων δῆιον ἀνδρ' ἐλέτω·
 καὶ πόδα παρποδὶ θείεις καὶ ἐπ' ἀσπίδος ἀσπίδ' ἐρείσας,
 ἐν δὲ λόφον τε λόφῳ καὶ κυνέην κυνέην
 καὶ στέρνον στέρνῳ πεπλημένος⁸ ἀνδρὶ μαχέσθω.
 ἢ ξίφεος κώπην ἢ δόρυ μακρὸν ἐλών.

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turned away. Fear ye not a multitude of men, nor flinch, but let every man hold his shield straight towards the van, making Life his enemy and the black Spuits of Death dear as the rays of the sun. For ye know the destroying deeds of lamentable Ares, and well have learnt the disposition of woeful War; ye have tasted both of the fleeing and the pursuing, lads, and had more than your fill of either. Those who abiding shoulder to shoulder go with a will into the mellay and the van, of these are fewer slain, these save the people afterward; as for them that turn to fear, all their valour is lost—no man could tell in words each and all the ills that befall a man if he once come to dishonour. For pleasant it is in dreadful warfare to pierce the midriff of a flying man, and disgraced is the dead that lieth in the dust with a spear-point in his back. So let each man bite his lip and abide firm-set astride upon the ground, covering with the belly of his broad buckler thighs and legs below and breast and shoulders above; let him brandish the massy spear in his right hand, let him wave the dire crest upon his head; let him learn how to fight by doing doughty deeds, and not stand shield in hand beyond the missiles. Nay, let each man close the foe, and with his own long spear, or else with his sword, wound and take an enemy, and setting foot beside foot, resting shield against shield, crest beside crest, helm beside helm, fight his man breast to breast with sword or long spear in

¹ Grot ² Emp mss γὰρ ὡς Ἀρέως (-έως), emendation
of hapl γαργος ³ Gesn. mss ἀπίδ. ⁴ Schn-B: mss
καὶ μετὰ (παρὰ, πρὸς) and ἔγευσθε (ἄγεσθε, ἐγένεσθε) ⁵ mss
ἐν ⁶ Ahr mss ἀργ. ⁷ Gesn mss -ὄς ⁸ Brunck ·
mss πεπαλημ

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35 ὑμεῖς δ' ὦ γυμνήτες, ὑπ' ἀσπίδος ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος
 πτώσσοντες μεγάλοις βάλλετε χερμαδίοις,
 δούρασί τε ξεστοῖσιν ἀκοντίζοντες ἐς αὐτούς,
 τοῖσι πανόπλοισι ¹ πλησίον ἰστάμενοι.

12

Stob. *Fl.* 51 1 (ll 1-14 *ἔπαινος τόλμης* *Τυρταίου*), 51
 (ll. 15-44 *Τυρταίου*), Theogn 1003 (ll 13-16)

Οὐτ' ἂν μνησαίμην οὐτ' ἐν λόγῳ ἄνδρα τιθείμην·
 οὐδὲ ποδῶν ἀρετῆς οὔτε παλαιμοσύνης,
 οὐδ' εἰ Κυκλώπων μὲν ἔχοι μέγεθός τε βίην τε,
 νικῶν δὲ θεῶν Θρηίκιον Βορέην,
 5 οὐδ' εἰ Τιθωνοῖο φυὴν χαριέστερος εἴη,
 πλουτοίη δὲ Μίδεω καὶ Κινύρεω μάλιον,³
 οὐδ' εἰ Τανταλίδεω Πέλοπος βασιλεύτερος εἴη,
 γλῶσσαν δ' Ἀδρήστου μελιχόγηρυν ἔχοι,
 οὐδ' εἰ πᾶσαν ἔχοι δόξαν πλὴν θούριδος ἀλκῆς·
 10 οὐ γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γίγνεται ἐν πολέμῳ,
 εἰ μὴ τετλαίῃ μὲν ὄρων φόνον αἱματόεντα
 καὶ δηίων ὀρέγοιτ' ἐγγύθεν ἰστάμενος.⁴
 ἦδ' ἀρετῇ, τόδ' ἀεθλον ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἄριστον
 κάλλιστόν τε φέρειν γίγνεται ἀνδρὶ νέφ.⁵
 15 ξυνὸν δ' ἐσθλὸν τοῦτο πόλῃι τε παντὶ τε δήμῳ,
 ὅστις ἂν εὖ ⁶ διαβὰς ἐν προμάχοισι μένῃ
 νωλεμέως, αἰσχυρῆς δὲ φυγῆς ἐπὶ πάγχυ λάθῃται,
 ψυχὴν καὶ θυμὸν τλήμονα παρθέμενος,
 θαρσύνῃ δ' ἔπεισιν ⁷ τὸν πλησίον ἄνδρα παρεστώς.
 20 οὗτος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γίγνεται ἐν πολέμῳ·

¹ Dind mss -πλίοισι ² Plat. Stob -εἴην ³ G. M.
 Schmidt mss Κινυρέοιο μάλλον, cf Plat. *Legg* 660e ⁴ cf.

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hand. And ye also, ye light-armed, crouch ye on either hand beneath the shield and fling your great hurlstones and throw against them your smooth javelins, in your place beside the men of heavier armament.¹

12²

Stobaeus *Anthology* [praise of valour]: Tyrtaeus —

I would neither call a man to mind nor put him in my tale for prowess in the race or the wrestling, not even had he the stature and strength of a Cyclops and surpassed in swiftness the Thracian Northwind, nor were he a comelier man than Tithonus and a richer than Midas or Cinyras, nor though he were a greater king than Pelops son of Tantalus, and had Adrastus' suaveness of tongue, nor yet though all fame were his save of warlike strength, for a man is not good in war if he have not endured the sight³ of bloody slaughter and stood nigh and reached forth to strike the foe. This is prowess,⁴ this is the noblest prize and the fairest for a lad to win in the world; a common good this⁵ both for the city and all her people, when a man standeth firm in the forefront without ceasing, and making heart and soul to abide, forgetteth foul flight altogether and hearteneth by his words him that he standeth by. Such a man

¹ the last sentence has the air of an addition, which itself, to judge by the slightly confused syntax, may have once ended at 'hurlstones' ² cf. Plat *Legg* 629a, 660e, *Phaedr* 269a, Clem *Al Paed.* 3 233, Stob *Fl* 51 l ³ or persevered in sight ⁴ or this is the noblest virtue (supplying ἀρίστη), cf Theogn. 1003 ⁵ cf. Stob *Fl* 51. 4

Plat *Legg.* 629e ⁵ Theogn σφῆ ⁶ Upton, cf. 11. 21, Plat *Legg* 1 630b mss ἀνήρ ⁷ Herm. mss δὲ πρεῖν

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

- αἶψα δὲ δυσμενέων ἀνδρῶν ἔτρεψε φάλαγγας
 τριχείας, σπουδῇ δ' ἔσχεθε κύμα μάχης·
 ὃς δ' αὖτ'¹ ἐν προμάχοισι πεσὼν φίλον ὤλεσε θυμὸν
 ἄστυ τε καὶ λαοὺς καὶ πατέρ' εὐκλείσας,
 25 πολλὰ διὰ στέρνοιο καὶ ἀσπίδος ὀμφαλοέσσης
 καὶ διὰ θώρηκος πρόσθεν ἐληλάμενος,
 τὸν δ' ὀλοφύρονται μὲν ὁμῶς νέοι ἡδὲ γέροντες,
 ἀργαλέῳ δὲ πόθῳ πᾶσα κέκηδε πόλις·
 καὶ τύμβος καὶ παῖδες ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀρίσημοι
 30 καὶ παίδων παῖδες καὶ γένος ἐξοπίσω·
 οὐδέποτε κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀπόλλυται οὐδ' ὄνομ' αὐτοῦ,
 ἀλλ' ὑπὸ γῆς περ ἐὼν γίγνεται ἀθάνατος,
 ὄντιν' ἀριστεύοντα μένοντά τε μαρνάμενόν τε
 γῆς πέρι καὶ παίδων θοῦρος Ἄρης ὀλέσῃ·
 35 εἰ δὲ φύγῃ μὲν κῆρα ταυηλεγέος θανάτοιο,
 νικήσας δ' αἰχμῆς ἀγλαὸν εὖχος ἔλῃ,
 πάντες μιν τιμῶσιν ὁμῶς νέοι ἡδὲ παλαιοί,
 πολλὰ δὲ τερπνὰ παθὼν ἔρχεται εἰς Ἀἶδην
 γηράσκων δ' ἀστοῖσι μεταπρέπει, οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν
 40 βλάπτειν οὔτ' αἰδοῦς οὔτε δίκης ἐθέλει,
 πάντες δ' ἐν θώκοισιν² ὁμῶς νέοι οἳ τε κατ' αὐτὸν
 εἴκουσ' ἐκ χώρης οἳ³ τε παλαιότεροι.
 ταύτης νῦν τις ἀνὴρ ἀρετῆς εἰς ἄκρον ἰκέσθαι
 πειράσθω θυμῷ, μὴ μεθιεῖς πολέμου⁴

13

Gal Hippocr et Plat Plac 3. 3 p 274 M [π Χρυσίππου]
 . . ποιητῶν ἐπὼν μνημονεύει παυδόλλων ὁμοίαν ἐχόντων ἀτοπίαν,
 οἶον καὶ ἔταν ἐπαινῇ⁵ Τυρταῖον λέγοντα

αἰθωνος δὲ λέοντος ἔχων ἐν στήθεσι θυμόν

¹ B. mss αὐτὸς δ', but cf 27 τὸν δ' (δέ in apodosis)
² Theogn π. μιν τιμῶσιν· ³ Theogn. χώρης εἴκουσιν τοί B
 χώρης οἱ εἴκουσ' οἳ ⁴ Gesn mss -μον ⁵ Muller: mss εἰπῇ
 76

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is good in war; he quickly turneth the savage hosts of the enemy, and stemmeth the wave of battle with a will; moreover he that falleth in the van and loseth dear life to the glory of his city and his countrymen and his father, with many a frontwise wound through breast and breastplate and through bossy shield, he is bewailed alike by young and old, and lamented with sore regret by all the city. His grave and his children are conspicuous among men, and his children's children and his line after them; nor ever doth his name and good fame perish, but though he be underground he liveth evermore, seeing that he was doing nobly and abiding in the fight for country's and children's sake when fierce Ares brought him low. But and if he escape the doom of outstretched Death and by victory make good the splendid boast of battle,¹ he hath honour of all,² alike young as old, and cometh to his death after happiness; as he groweth old he standeth out among his people, and there's none that will do him hurt either in honour or in right; all yield him place on the benches, alike the young and his peers and his elders. This is the prowess each man should this day aspire to,³ never relaxing from war.

13

Galen *Hippocrates and Plato* [on Chrysippus] . . . he cites a very large number of verses of the poets, all equally absurd, as when he praises Tyrtaeus for saying ⁴

with the heart of a tawny lion in his breast

¹ or of his spear
come to the top of

² cf Theogn 935
⁴ or quotes this from T.

³ *lit.* try to

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

14

Plut *Stoic Repugn* 14 καὶ τοῦ Τυρταίου τό
πρὶν ἀρετῆς πελάσαι τέρμασιν ἢ θανάτου

15

Sch Heph p 196 Cons [π. τὴν οἱ ἀντὶ βραχείας παρα-
λαμβανομένην]· εὐρίσκεται δ' ἀπλῶς ἐν μέσῳ λέξεως κοινῇ καὶ ἐν
παλιμβакχείῳ, ὡς καὶ παρὰ Τυρταίῳ

ἥρωες¹

οὕτως γὰρ ἔλαβε τὸν δεύτερον πόδα τοῦ στίχου

¹ mss ἥρωες, -ος

TYRTAEUS

14

Plutarch *Inconsistencies of the Stoics* Compare Tyrtaeus too
before [ye] draw near to the bounds betwixt prowess
and death

15 ¹

Scholiast on Hephaestion [the shortening of the diphthong
oi] The simple vowel (o) occurs *anceps* in the middle of a word
and in an antibacchius (— — o), as in Tyrtaeus' ἥρως (for
ἥρωες)

heroes

for this is how he scanned the second foot of the line.

¹ for the Spartan March-Songs sometimes ascribed to
Aleman and Tyrtaeus, see *Lyra Graeca* iii p 535

ΑΣΙΟΥ

Paus 7 4 1 αἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς νήσοις εἰσὶν Ἰώνων πόλεις, Σάμος ἢ ὑπὲρ Μυκάλης καὶ Χίος ἢ ἀπαντικρὺ τοῦ Μίμαντος Ἄσιος δὲ ὁ Ἀμφιπολεύου Σάμιος ἐποίησεν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ὡς Φοίνικι ἐκ Περιμήδης τῆς Οἰνέως γένοιτο Ἀστυπάλαια καὶ Εὐρώπη, κτλ

Ibid. 4 2 1 πυθέσθαι δὲ σπουδῇ πάνυ ἐβελήσας οἵτινες παῖδες Πολυκάδων ἐγένοντο ἐκ Μεσσήνης, ἐπελεξάμην τὰς τε Ἠοίας καλουμένας καὶ τὰ ἔπη τὰ Ναυπάκτια, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅποσα Κιναίθων καὶ Ἄσιος ἐγενεαλόγησαν

Ath 12 525e περὶ δὲ τῆς Σαμίων τρυφῆς Δοῦρις ἱστορῶν παρατίθεται Ἀσίου ποιήματα, ὅτι ἐφόρουν χλίδωνας περὶ τοῖς βραχίοσι, κτλ.

Ibid 3. 125b ‘ . . . τὸ δὲ κατὰ Σιμωνίδην τί ἐστὶν οὐκ οἶδα ’
 ‘ Οὐ γὰρ μέλει σοι ’ ἔφη ὁ Μυρτίλος ‘ ἱστορίας, ὧ γάστρων
 κνισολοιχὸς γάρ τις εἶ (καὶ) κατὰ τὸν Σάμιον ποιητὴν Ἄσιον τὸν
 παλαιὸν ἐκείνον¹ κνισοκόλαξ ’ . . . πίνοντας οὖν αὐτοῦ πάλιν ἐζήτει
 ὁ Οὐλπιανός ‘ Ποῦ κεῖται ὁ κνισολοιχὸς καὶ τίνα ἐστί τὰ τοῦ Ἀσίου
 ἔπη τὰ περὶ τοῦ κνισοκόλακος, ’ ‘ Τὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Ἀσίου ’ ἔφη ὁ
 Μυρτίλος ‘ ἔπη ταῦτ ’ ἐστί

Χωλός, στιγματῆς, πολυγῆρας, ἴσος ἀλήθη
 ἦλθεν κνισοκόλαξ, εὖτε Μέλης ἐγάμει,
 ἄκλητος, ζωμοῦ κεχρημένος, ἐν δὲ μέσοισιν
 ἦρως εἰστήκει βορβόρου ἐξαναδύς.

¹ mss insert καὶ

ASIIUS

Pausanias *Description of Greece*. The cities in these islands are Ionian, Samos off Mycalè and Chios opposite Mimas. According to the Epic poems of Asius son of Amphiptolemus of Samos, Phoenix had by Perimedè daughter of Oeneus two daughters, Astypalaea and Europa, etc.

The Same. Being very desirous to know what children Polycæon had by Messenè, I have perused the *Eoiai* as they are called and the *Epic of Naupactus*, and also the genealogic poems of Cinaethon and Asius.

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner*. With regard to the luxury of the Samians, Düris in his *History* adduces the poems of Asius to prove that they wore armlets, etc.

The Same. 'What you mean' (added Ulpian) 'by *like Simonides* I do not know.' 'Of course not' said Myrtilus, 'you have no interest in history, Master Pot-belly. You are a fat-licker and, to use a word of the old Samian poet Asius, a *flatterer of fat*' When Myrtilus had taken another drink, Ulpian asked him again where the word fat-licker occurred, and what the lines of Asius were about the flatterer of fat. 'The lines of Asius' rejoined Myrtilus 'are these.

Lame, branded,¹ aged, like a beggarman came the flatterer of fat to Meles' wedding, came unasked and in need of broth, and stood in their midst like a ghost² risen from the mire.'³

A few fragments of Asius' genealogic poetry in epic verse are preserved by Pausanias, Strabo, Athenaeus, and others; see Kinkel *Epic. Graec.*

¹ as a runaway slave ² Wil. *lit.* hero ³ Wil.
the mire of Hades, cf. Ar. *Ran.* 145

MIMNERMOT

Βίος

Suid. Μίμνερμος· Λιγυρτιάδου, Κολοφώνιος ἢ Σμυρναῖος ἢ Ἀστυपालαιεύς, ἐλεγειοποιός. γέγονε δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς λζ' Ὀλυμπιάδος, ὡς προτερεύειν τῶν ζ' σοφῶν. τινὲς δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ συγχροεῖν λέγουσιν. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Λιγυαστάδης, διὰ τὸ ἐμμελὲς καὶ λιγύ. ἔγραψε βιβλία †ταῦτα†¹ πολλά

Str. 14. 643 [π. Κολοφώνος]· ἄνδρες δ' ἐγένοντο Κολοφώνιοι τῶν μνημονευομένων Μίμνερμος ἀνλητῆς ἄμα καὶ ποιητῆς ἐλεγείας, καὶ Ξενοφάνης . . . λέγει δὲ Πίνδαρος καὶ Πολύμναστον . . . καὶ Ὀμηρον δέ τινες ἐντεῦθεν εἶναί φασιν.

Phot *Bibl* 319b. 11.

Hermesianax *ap.* Ath 13 597 f

Μίμνερμος δέ, τὸν ἡδὺν ὃς εὔρετο πολλὸν ἀνατλὰς ἥχον καὶ μαλακοῦ πνεῦμ' ἀπὸ πενταμέτρου, καίετο μὲν Ναννοῦς, πολιῶ δ' ἐπὶ πολλάκι λωτῶ κημωθεὶς² κώμους εἶχε σὺν Ἑξαμύῃ, ἥχθες δ' Ἑρμόβιον τὸν ἀεὶ βαρὺν ἡδὲ Φερεκλῆν ἐχθρόν, μισήσας οἱ ἀνέπεμψεν³ ἔπη.

¹ Bern. —E β', ἑρωτικά τὰ ² Herm: mss κνημ. ³ B -ψαν

MIMNERMUS

LIFE

Suidas *Lexicon*. Mimnermus —Son of Ligyrtaides, of Colophon or Smyrna or Astypalaea, writer of Elegy. He flourished in the 37th Olympiad (632–629 B.C.), and thus precedes the Seven Sages, though according to some authorities he was contemporary with them. He was also called Ligystades, because he was sweet-and-clear (λγύς), that is musical. He wrote . . . books . . .¹

Strabo *Geography* [Colophon]. Famous Colophonians are Mimnermus the fluteplayer and writer of Elegy, and Xenophanes. Pindar also mentions Polymnastus . . . and according to some writers we must add Homer.

Photius *Library* (see Callinus p 44)

Hermesianax. And Mimnermus, who after much suffering found such sweet sound and breath in the soft pentameter, he loved Nanno, and oftentime bound about with the mouthpiece of the gray lotus-wood² made revel with Examyés, and vexed the lives of the ever-grievous Hermobius and the hostile Pherecles because he hated the verse he put forth³

¹ mss corrupt *perh* two Books mostly love-poems ² *i.e.* mouth-band of the flute ³ *perh* they put forth

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

Ath 15. 699c [φησὶ Πολέμων]· ὅτι ἦν τις περὶ αὐτοὺς (παρῳδοὺς) δόξα παρὰ τοῖς Σικελιώταις Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Αἰτωλὸς ὁ τραγωδοδιδάσκαλος ποιήσας ἐλεγείον τρόπον τοῦτον δηλοῖ·

. . ἀρχαίων ἦν ὃδ' ἀνὴρ προγόνων,
εἰδὼς ἐκ νεότητος αἰεὶ ξείνοισιν ὁμιλεῖν
ξείνος, Μιμνέρμου δ' εἰς ἔπος ἄκρον ἰὼν
παιδομανεῖ Τῆφ' τε πότῃς ἴσος¹ . . .

Callim. *Aitia Ox Pap.* 2079²

[νῦν δὲ τ]ὸ μὲν Τελχῖνες ἐπιτρύζουσιν ἀ[εικὲς]
νῆιδες οἱ Μούσης οὐκ ἐγένοντο φίλοι,³
εἶνεκεν οὐχ ἐν ἄεισμα διηνεκές,⁴ ἣ βασιλ[ῆας]
[κλήσ]ας, ἐν πολλαῖς ἥνυσα⁵ χιλιάσιν,
5 [ἡ] ἀρχαίους ἥρωας, ἔπος δ' ἐπὶ τυτθὸν ἐλ[ίσσω]
[παῖς ἄτ]ε· τῶν δ' ἐτέων ἡ δεκά[ς] οὐκ ὀλίγη.⁶
[φημὶ δ]ὲ καὶ Τ[ελ]χίσιν ἐγὼ τόδε· Φῦλον ἄ[ιδρι],
[μοῦνον ἐόν] τήκ[ειν] ἥπαρ ἐπιστάμενον,
[ἦν, ἔξοι]δ' [ἄ]ρ' ἐὼν[ὸλ]ιγόςτιχος· ἀλλὰ καθέλ[κει]
10 [δρῦν πο]λὺ τὴν μακρὴν ὄμπνια Θεσμοφόρο[ς],
[τοῖν δέ] δυοῖν Μίμνερμος ὅτι γλυκὺς αἰ κατὰ
λεπτὸν
[ὦδε μὲν,] ἡ μεγάλη δ' οὐκ ἐδίδαξε γυνή . . '

¹ Cas -E, (or παιδομανέος?): mss σὺν ἔρωτι (remains of a gloss on παιδομανεῖ) πότῃν ἴσον (corrupted from ποτ' ἦν ἴσος)

² restored by Hunt-Lobel 1-7, Housman 7-11, Milne 12

³ = Callim *Fr* 488

⁴ = Callim *Fr* 287

⁵ *Ibid*

⁶ = Callim 489

LIFE OF MIMNERMUS

Alexander of Aetolia [from Polemon]: That parodists were in some repute in Sicily is thus shown by the tragic poet Alexander of Aetolia in an Elegy: ' . . . This man came of ancient lineage, for he had known from his youth up how to behave to strangers as friend to friend,¹ and had both reached the summit of the verse of Mimnermus² and become an equal drinker with the lad's-love-crazy Teian ' ³

Callimachus *Causes*. But now [ignorant] backbiters⁴ who are no friends of the Muse murmur [unseemly] against me because I have not wrought [in honour] either of kings or of [ancient] heroes a single unbroken poem in many thousands of lines, but make one little scroll of verse [as a child might do], though the tens of my years are not few. To the backbiters I say this: ' You ignorant tribe, whose only skill lies in shrivelling your own hearts, I know well. look you, that I am one of few lines; yet the bountiful Corn-Goddess far surpasses⁵ the tall oak, and of the two Books of Mimnermus⁶ it is his short 'pieces' that have told us how sweet he is, not the great tall one.⁷ [over]

¹ i.e. to play host to another's guest ² i.e. practised to the full the counsel indicated by the famous line on love, Mimn.
¹ 1 ³ Anacreon ⁴ Hunt, *lit.* Telchines (see index)
⁵ *lit.* outweighs, i.e. corn is much better than acorns though they grow on a tall tree (Hunt) ⁶ cf. Porphyrio below
⁷ i.e. the Book which contains a number of short poems, not the *Nanno*, a poem which seems to have filled a whole Book, γυνή is for ἡ περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς βιβλος (see H J M. Milne C R 1929, 214), 'pieces' will do either for *poems* or for *women*, for another mention of M by Callimachus cf. *Ox. Pap* 1011, 341 (Crusius)

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

Schol. *ad loc.* Milne *Brit. Mus. Lit. Pap* 181. 11¹
 ἐδίδαξαν αἱ κατὰ λεπτὸν οὐκ ἐδίδαξεν ἡ μεγάλη.
 λέγει ὅτι γλυκὺς ὁ Μίμνερμος. ὦδε· οὕτως· ἡδὺς
 ἐν τοῖς μικροῖς

Poseidippus *ap. Anth Pal* 12 168

Ναυνοῦς καὶ Λύδης ἐπίχει δύο, καὶ φιλεράστου
 Μιμνέρμου, καὶ τοῦ σώφρονος Ἀντιμάχου.
 συγκέρασον τὸν πέμπτον ἐμοῦ, τὸν δ' ἕκτον
 ἑκάστου,

Ἑλιδῶρ', εἶπας, ὅστις ἐρῶν ἔτυχεν
 ἔβδομον Ἑσίοδου, τὸν δ' ὀγδοὸν εἶπον Ὀμήρου,
 6 τὸν δ' ἑνατὸν Μουσῶν, Μνημοσύνης δέκατον.
 μεστὸν ὑπὲρ χείλους πίομαι, Κύπρι' τᾶλλα δ'
 ἔρωτος
 νήφοντ' οἰνωθέντ' οὐχὶ λίην μ' ἄραρεν ²

Plut. *Mus.* 8 καὶ ἄλλος δ' ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖος νόμος
 καλούμενος Κραδίας, ὃν φησιν Ἰππῶναξ Μίμνερμον
 αὐλῆσαι. ἐν ἀρχῇ γὰρ ἐλεγεία μεμελοποιημένα
 οἱ αὐλῶδοι ᾗδον· τοῦτο δὲ δηλοῖ ἡ τῶν Παναθη-
 ναίων γραφή ἢ Περὶ τοῦ Μουσικοῦ Ἀγῶνος.

Ath. 14. 620c Χαμαιλέων δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Στη-
 σιχόρου καὶ μελωδηθῆναί φησιν οὐ μόνον τὰ
 Ὀμήρου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ Ἑσίοδου καὶ Ἀρχιλόχου,
 ἔτι δὲ Μιμνέρμου καὶ Φωκυλίδου

Hor. *Ep* 1. 6 65

s1, Mimnermus uti censet, sine amore iocisque
 nil est iucundum, vivas in amore iocisque.

Ibid 11 2. 99

discedo Alcaeus puncto illius; ille meo quis ²

LIFE OF MIMNERMUS

Scholast *on the passage*: 'The short pieces have told us, the great one has not told us'; he means 'that Mimnermus is sweet'; ὡδὲ is to be taken thus: 'sweet in the little ones.'¹

Poseidippus: Pour thou two ladles as of Nanno and Lydè, one as of the lover's friend Mimnermus, and one as of the discreet Antimachus; with the fifth mix in of myself, and let the sixth, Heliodorus, stand for each and all that ever loved; the seventh call Hesiod's, and the eighth Homer's, the ninth the Muses', and the tenth Memory's. I shall have an overflowing cup to drink, Cypris; the rest of love pleases me but little, drunk or sober.

Plutarch *Music*: There is another ancient Flute-Nome called Cradias or *Fig-Branch*, which according to Hipponax was played by Mimnermus. It seems that originally singers to the flute sang Elegiac verse set to music; this is shown by the Panathenaic *Account of the Competition in Music*.

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner*: We are told by Chamaeleon in his book *On Stesichorus* that not only the poems of Homer but of Hesiod and Archilochus, and even of Mimnermus and Phocylides, were sung to music.

Horace *Epistles* If, as Mimnermus believes, there is no joy without love and jests, then you should live in love and jests.

The Same: I go home a second Alcaeus, on the other's vote; and who is he on mine? Of course, a

¹ *i.e.* recapitulates the words 'that M. is sweet' (Milne)

¹ restored by Hunt-Milne (M now λεπτόν for -τά)

² *E*: ms ἔρωτες λίην ἔχαριν

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

quis nisi Callimachus? si plus adposcere visus,
fit Mimnermus et optivo cognomine crescit.

Porphyrio *ad loc.*

Mimnermus duos libros luculentos¹ scripsit.

Prop. i. 9. 9

quid tibi nunc misero prodest grave dicere
carmen

aut Amphioniae moenia flere lyrae?
plus in amore valet Mimnermi versus Homero;
carmina mansuetus lenia quaerit Amor.

I quaeso et tristes istos compone libellos,
et cane quod quaevis nosse puella velit.

MIMNERMOT EΛEΓΕΙΩΝ

A'

1-3

Stob. Fl 63 16 π Ἀφροδίτης· Μιμνέρμου·

τίς δὲ βίος, τί δὲ τερπνὸν ἄτερ χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης;
τεθναίνην ὅτε μοι μηκέτι ταῦτα μέλοι,
κρυπταδίῃ φιλότης καὶ μείλιχα δῶρα καὶ εὐνή,
οἷ' ἥβης ἀνθεα γίγνεται ἀρπαλέα
ἀνδράσιν ἢ δὲ γυναιξίν.² ἐπεὶ δ' ὀδυνηρὸν ἐπέλθῃ
6 γῆρας, ὃ τ' αἰσχρὸν ὁμῶς καὶ κακὸν ἄνδρα τιθεῖ,³
αἰεὶ μιν φρένας ἀμφὶ κακαὶ τείρουσι μέριμναι,⁴
οὐδ' αὐγὰς προσορῶν τέρπεται ἡελίου,

¹ mss also *luculentibus*: Holder αὐλητικούς (αὐλοφδικούς? E)

² οἷ' Ahr mss οἱ and εἰ ³ κακὸν Herm mss καλόν, but
cf 5 3, 7 ⁴ μιν B: mss μέν

MIMNERMUS

Callimachus. If he seems to want more, he swells with a name of his own choice and becomes a Mimnermus.

Porphyrio *on the passage* : Mimnermus wrote two brilliant Books.¹

Propertius *Elegies* : Alas ! what avails you now to sing high song and cry woe for the walls Amphion's lyre did build ? In love Mimnermus' lines count for more than Homer's ; love is no savage, love doth seek gentle songs. Go to, lay by your gloomy books, and sing what every maiden would like to know.

See also Ath. 13. 597a.

THE ELEGIES OF MIMNERMUS

Book i

1-3

Stobaeus *Anthology* [on Aphrodite] Mimnermus —²

But what life would there be, what joy, without golden Aphrodite ? May I die when I be no more concerned with secret love and suasive gifts and the bed, such things as are the very flowers of youth, pleasant alike to man and woman And when dolorous Age cometh, that maketh a man both foul without and evil within,³ ill cares do wear and wear his heart, he hath no more the joy of looking on

¹ reading doubtful; *perh* Books of songs to the flute

² cf Plut. *Virt Mor* 6 (*τίς δὲ χάρις* and *ἀνὴρ*), Apost 16 61c

³ or *less likely* maketh even a fair man foul

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

ἀλλ' ἐχθρὸς μὲν παισίν, ἀτίμαστος δὲ γυναιξίν,
10 οὕτως ἀργαλέον γήρας ἔθηκε θεός.

2

Stob. Fl 98 13 [π τοῦ βίου, ὅτι βραχὺς καὶ εὐτελής καὶ
φροντίδων ἀνάμεστος] Μιμνέρμου

ἡμεῖς δ' οἶά τε φύλλα φύει πολυανθέος ὥρη¹
ἔαρος, ὅτ' αἰψ' αὐγῆς αὖξεται ἡελίου,²
τοῖς ἵκελοι πήχυιον ἐπὶ χρόνον ἀνθεσιν ἥβης
τερπόμεθα πρὸς θεῶν εἰδότες οὔτε κακὸν
5 οὔτ' ἀγαθόν· Κῆρες δὲ παρεστήκασι μέλαιναι,
ἡ μὲν ἔχουσα τέλος γήραος ἀργαλέον,
ἡ δ' ἑτέρη θανάτοιο· μίνυνθα δὲ γίγνεται ἥβης
καρπός, ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ γῆν κίδναται ἡέλιος·
αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν δὴ τοῦτο τέλος παραμείψεται ὥρης,
10 αὐτίκα δὴ τεθνάναι βέλτιον ἢ βίωτος·³
πολλὰ γὰρ ἐν θυμῷ κακὰ γίγνεται· ἄλλοτε οἶκος
τρυχοῦται, πενίης δ' ἔργ' ὀδυνηρὰ πέλει·
ἄλλος δ' αὖ παίδων ἐπιδεύεται, ὧν τε μάλιστα
ἰμείρων κατὰ γῆς ἔρχεται εἰς Ἀἴδην·
15 ἄλλον νοῦσος ἔχει θυμοφθόρος·⁴ οὐδέ τις ἐστὶν
ἀνθρώπων ᾧ Ζεὺς μὴ κακὰ πολλὰ διδῶ.⁵

3

Ibid 116. 1 [ψόγος γήρως] Μιμνέρμου

τὸ πρὶν ἐὼν κάλλιστος, ἐπὴν παραμείψεται ὥρη,
οὐδὲ πατήρ παισὶν τίμιος οὔτε φίλος

¹ B, cf. *Hom H* 19 17 (note the awkward change of subj. in l 2 if φύλλα is objt here): mss -άνθεος (-άνθεμος) ὥρη

² αὐγῆς Schn mss αὐγῇ Brunck αψ for αἰψ' ³ Bach αὐτίκα τεθνήμεναι, O Schneider τεθνάναι (cf Aesch *Ag.* 517)

⁴ mss ἄλλος νοῦσον ἔχει θυμοφθόρον ⁵ mss also διδοῖ

MIMNERMUS

the sunlight, to children he is hateful, to women contemptible, so grievous hath God made Age.

2

Stobaeus *Anthology* [that life is short, of little account, and full of care] Mimnermus —

But we, like the leaves that come in the flowery Springtime when they wax so quickly beneath the sunbeams, like them we enjoy the blossoms of youth for a season but an ell long, the Gods giving us knowledge¹ neither of evil nor of good; for here beside us stand the black Death-Spirits, the one with the end² that is grievous Eld, the other that which is Death; and the harvest of youth is as quickly come as the rising Sun spreadeth his light abroad. And when the end of maturity be past, then to be dead is better than to live, for many be the sorrows that rise in the heart; sometimes our house is wasted and Poverty's dolorous deeds are to do; or a man lacketh children and goeth down to Death desiring them more than all else; again he is possessed by heart-destroying Disease—there's no man in the world to whom Zeus giveth not manifold woe.

3

The Same [censure of Age]: Mimnermus —

However fair he may once have been, when the season is overpast he is neither honoured nor loved, nay, not by his own children.

¹ *he prob means* fore-knowledge ² *or holding the end of, a phrase generally in the plural, meaning something like 'having the entire control of'*

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

B'

NANNOTΣ

4-10

Stob Fl 33 [ψόγος γήρως] Μιμνέρμου Ναννοῦς

Τιθωνῷ μὲν ἔδωκεν ἔχειν κακὸν ἄφθιτον ὁ Ζεὺς
γῆρας, ὃ καὶ θανάτου ῥίγιον ἀργαλέον.

5

Ibid 34 [ψόγος γήρως] Μιμνέρμου Ναννοῦς

[Αὐτίκα μοι κατὰ μὲν χροίην ῥέει ἄσπετος ἰδρώς,
πτοιῶμαι δ' ἐσορῶν ἄνθος ὀμηλικίης
τερπνὸν ὁμῶς καὶ καλόν, ἐπεὶ πλέον ὠφέλεν εἶναι.]¹
ἀλλ' ὀλιγοχρόνιος² γίνεταί ὥσπερ ὄναρ
ἦβη τιμήεσσα· τὸ δ' ἀργαλέον³ καὶ ἄμορφον
γῆρας ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς αὐτίχ' ὑπερκρέματα⁴
ἐχθρὸν ὁμῶς καὶ ἄτιμον, ὃ τ' ἄγνωστον τιθεῖ ἄνδρα,
βλάπτει δ' ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ νόον ἀμφιχυθέν.

6

Ibid. ll. 1 [π ἀληθείας] Μιμνέρμου⁵ Ναννοῦς

ἀληθείῃ δὲ παρέστω
σοὶ καὶ ἐμοί, πάντων χρῆμα δικαιοτάτον.

7

Str 1 46 προσμυθοποιεῖ δὲ (ὁ ποιητῆς) τὸν ἐξωκεανισμὸν τὸν
κατὰ τὴν πλάνην συμβάντα τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ πλοῦ ἐπεὶ
κακεῖνο ὑποκειμένων μὲν τούτων εὖ λέγεται 'Ἀργῶ πασιμέλουσα,
ὥς ἐν γνωρίμοις τόποις καὶ εὐανδροῦσι τῆς ναυστολίας γενομένης
εἰ δ', ὥσπερ ὁ Σκῆψιός φησι παραλαβὼν μάρτυρα Μίμνερμον, δς ἐν
τῷ ὠκεανῷ ποιήσας τὴν οἴκησιν τοῦ Αἰήτου πρὸς ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς

¹ these 3 ll. not in Stob (see opp) ² so one ms of
Theogn. otherwise -ον ³ Th οὐλόμενον ⁴ Th. αὐτίχ'
ὑπὲρ κεφ γῆρας ὑπερκρ ⁵ mss Μενάνδρου

MIMNERMUS

Book ii

NANNO

4-10

Stobaeus *Anthology* [censure of Age] Mimnermus *Nanno* —

Zeus gave Tithonus the evil gift of immortal Eld, which is even worse than woeful Death.

5

The Same [censure of Age] Mimnermus *Nanno* —

[A sudden copious sweat floweth down my flesh and I tremble, when I behold the lovely and pleasant flowering-time of my generation, for I would it were longer lasting;]¹ but precious Youth is short-lived as a dream, and woeful and ugly Eld hangeth plumb over our heads, Eld hateful alike and unhonoured,² which maketh a man unknown and doeth him hurt by the overwhelming of eyes and wits.³

6

The Same [on truth] · Mimnermus *Nanno* —

Betwixt thee and me let there be truth, the most righteous of all things.

7

Strabo *Geography* And Homer embroiders the facts merely so far as to make the wandering of the Argonauts extend into the Ocean on their way home For assuming this to be the case it is natural enough to call the Argo 'known everywhere,' the voyage having taken place in familiar and well-peopled parts of the world. But if it was as Demetrius of Scepsis states on the authority of Mimnermus, who places the home of Aeetes in the Ocean far out beside the rising of the Sun, and says that

¹ Theognis 1017 has ll 4-6 (with 2 slight changes) preceded by ll 1-3, which are not found in Stob. and may not belong to M

² or valueless ³ or when it is poured over eyes and wits

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

ἐκτὸς πεμφθῆναί φησιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πελίου τὸν Ἰάσονα καὶ κομίσαι τὸ δέρος, οὗτ' ἂν ἡ ἐπὶ τὸ δέρος ἐκεῖσε πομπή πιθανῶς λέγοιτο εἰς ἀγνώτας καὶ ἀφανεῖς τόπους, οὗθ' ὁ δι' ἐρήμων καὶ αἰόικων καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς τοσοῦτον ἐκτετοπισμένων πλοῦς οὗτ' ἐνδοξος οὔτε πασιμέλων

οὐδέ κοτ' ἂν μέγα ¹ κῶας ἀνήγαγεν αὐτὸς Ἰήσων
 ἐξ Αἴης, τελέσας ² ἀλγινόεσσαν ὁδόν,
 ὑβριστῇ Πελίῃ τελέων χαλεπῆρες ἄεθλον,
 οὐδ' ἂν ἐπ' Ὀκεανοῦ καλὸν ἴκοντο ῥόον·

καὶ ὑποβάς,

Αἰήταο πόλιν, τόθι τ' ὠκέος Ἡελίοιο
 ἀκτίνες χρυσέφ' κείται ἐν θαλάμῳ
 Ὀκεανοῦ παρὰ χεῖλες, ἵν' ³ ὦχετο θεῖος Ἰήσων.

8

Ath 469f Μίμνερος δὲ Ναννοῖ ἐν εὐνῇ φησι χρυσῇ κατεσκευασμένη πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν ταύτην ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου τὸν ἥλιον καθ' εὐδοντα περαιούσθαι πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολάς, αἰνισσόμενος τὸ κοῖλον τοῦ ποτηρίου λέγει δ' οὕτως

Ἡέλιος μὲν γὰρ πόνον ἔλλαχεν ⁴ ἡματα πάντα
 οὐδέ κοτ' ⁵ ἄμπαυσις γίγνεται οὐδεμία
 ἵπποισιν τε καὶ αὐτῷ, ἐπεὶ ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως
 Ὀκεανὸν προλιποῦσ' οὐρανὸν εἰσαναβῆ·
 5 τὸν μὲν γὰρ διὰ κῦμα φέρει πολυήρατος εὐνῇ
 κοίλῃ, ⁶ Ἡφαίστου χερσὶν ἐληλαμένη
 χρυσοῦ τιμήεντος, ὑπόπτερος, ⁷ ἄκρον ἐφ' ὕδωρ
 εὐδονθ' ἀρπαλέως χώρου ἀφ' Ἑσπερίδων
 γαῖαν ἐς Αἰθιοπῶν, ἵνα οἱ θοδὸν ⁸ ἄρμα καὶ ἵπποι
 10 ἐστᾶσ', ⁹ ὄφρ' Ἥως ἡριγένεια μόλῃ·
 ἐνθ' ἐπεβήσεθ' ἑὼν ¹⁰ ὀχέων Ὑπερίονος υἱός.

¹ Pors - Bruncck mss οὐδ' ὀκόταν μετὰ

² B ἀνύσας

³ B χεῖλος ἵν' mss χεῖλεσιν

⁴ Herm : mss ἔλλαχεν πόνον

⁵ Bach : mss ποτ' ⁶ Mein : mss κοίλῃ

⁷ Heyne : mss -ον

⁸ mss also ἵν' ἀλήθοον, i.e. ἵνα δὴ θοδὸν (δὴ inserted after loss of οἱ ⁹ Bruncck . mss ἐστᾶσ', ἰστᾶσ' ¹⁰ Schn mss ἐπέβη ἐτέρων (-ρων)

MIMNERMUS

Pelas sent Jason thither and he brought the Golden Fleece thence, the quest of the Fleece could not plausibly be made thither, for that would be a vague and unknown part of the world, nor could a voyage¹ through wild and uninhabited regions so far beyond our ken be described as renowned, or as Homer says, 'known everywhere' (The passages of Mimnermus are these².)

. . . Nor would even Jason himself have accomplished his direful journey and brought the great Fleece back from Aea,³ fulfilling the grievous task set him by the wicked Pelias, nor would they have come to the fair stream of Ocean;

and later,

the city of Aetes, where the beams of the swift Sun are laid up in a golden chamber beside the lips of Ocean, whither the divine Jason went and was gone.

8

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner*. According to the *Nanno* of Mimnermus, the Sun travels across to the place of his rising in a golden bed made for the purpose by Hephaestus, and the poet hints at the hollow of the Cup. His words are

For the Sun's portion is labour every day, nor is there ever any rest either for him or his horses when rosy-fingered Dawn hath left the Ocean and climbed⁴ the sky; for over the wave in a delightful bed forged of precious gold by the hand of Hephaestus, hollow and with wings, he is carried in pleasant sleep on the face of the waters from the Hesperians' country to the land of the Aethiop, where his horses and swift chariot stand till early-begotten Dawn appear, and then the son of Hyperion mounts his car.

¹ if the text is sound 'voyage' stands for 'a ship that went a voyage' ² not in the Greek ³ i.e. had it not been for Medea's love, prob. part of the *Nanno*, cf. Ap. Rh. 3.1 (Kaib) ⁴ or reading *εἰς ἀναβῆ* and taking it as present subjunctive 'begins to climb'

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

9

Sti 14. 633 Κολοφῶνα δὲ (κτίζει) Ἀνδραίμων Πύλιος, ὡς φησι
καὶ Μίμνερμος ἐν Ναννοῖ.

10

Ibid 634 ἀπελθόντες δὲ παρὰ τῶν Ἐφεσίων οἱ Σμυρναῖοι
στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ νῦν ἔστιν ἡ Σμύρνα, Δελέγων
κατεχόντων ἐκβαλόντες δ' αὐτοὺς ἔκτισαν τὴν παλαιὰν Σμύρναν
διέχουσιν τῆς νῦν περὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους ὕστερον δὲ ὑπὸ Αἰολέων
ἐκπεσόντες κατέφυγον εἰς Κολοφῶνα, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐνθένδε ἐπιόντες
τὴν σφετέραν ἀπέλαβον καθάπερ καὶ Μίμνερμος ἐν τῇ Ναννοῖ
φράζει μνηστὴς τῆς Σμύρνης ὅτι περιμάχῃτος αἶ

αἰπὺν δ' ἐπεὶ τε Πύλου Νηληϊοῦ¹ ἄστρῳ λιπόντες
ἡμερτὴν Ἀσίην νηυσὶν ἀφικόμεθα,
ἐς δ' ἐρατὴν² Κολοφῶνα βίην ὑπέροπλον ἔχοντες
ἐξόμεθ' ἀργαλέης ὕβριος ἀγρεμόνες,³
κεῖθεν δ' ἀλσήμεντος⁴ ἀπορνύμενοι ποτάμοιο
θεῶν βουλῇ Σμύρνην εἴλομεν⁵ Αἰολίδα.

11

Diog. L. 1. 60 [π Σόλωνος] φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ Μιμνέρμου
γράφαντος

Αἰ γὰρ ἄτερ νούσων τε καὶ ἀργαλέων μελεδωνῶν
ἐξηκουταέτη μοῖρα κίχοι θανάτου.

ἐπιτιμῶντα αὐτῷ εἰπεῖν Ἀλλ' εἴ μοι κὰν νῦν ἔτι πείσεται, ἔξελε

¹ E, cf II 11 682, Od. 4 639, Hesych. αἰπύ mss αἰπύ τε
(ἐπεὶ τε) πύλον νηλήιον ² Wytł mss ἄρα τὴν ³ E, cf.
Hesych ἀγρ. πορθητικοί mss ἡγεμόνες ⁴ E, cf. Paus
7. 5 10, Ap. Rh 1 1066 (ἀλσηίς) Schn αὐτὶς Ἀλεντος, cf
Paus. 8 28 3 mss κ διαστήμεντος (correction of ἀσήμεντος)
⁵ Brunck: mss εἴδομεν

MIMNERMUS

9

Strabo *Geography* Colophon was founded by Andraemon of Pylos, as we learn from Mimnermus' *Nanno*.

10

Strabo *Geography* When the Smyrnaeans left Ephesus they invaded the district where Smyrna now stands, and expelling the Lelegians who then possessed it, founded Old Smyrna between two and three miles from where the new city stood later. Driven thence by the Aeolians some time afterwards, they took refuge at Colophon and went and recovered their territory with the Colophonians' help. Thus we are told by Mimnermus, who in the *Nanno* thus refers to the fact that Smyrna had always been a bone of contention

. . . When from the lofty city of Neleian Pylos
we came on shipboard to the pleasant land of Asia,
and in overwhelming might destroying grievous
pride¹ sat down at lovely Colophon, thence² went
we forth from beside the wooded river³ and by
Heaven's counsel took Aeolian Smyrna⁴

11

Diogenes Laertius *Lives of the Philosophers*. It is said that when Mimnermus wrote⁵

Would that the fate of Death might overtake me
without disease or woeful trouble at threescore years!

Solon found fault with him, saying 'But if thou wilt listen to me so late in the day, erase this, Ligyastades, and bearing me no

¹ of the Lelegians ² or and thence ³ reading doubtful
⁴ M hints at the discreditable episode of the loss of Old Smyrna to the Aeolians by calling it Aeolian
⁵ to him?

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

τοῦτο, | μηδὲ μέγα· ἵτι σεῦ λῶον ἐπεφρασάμην, | καὶ μεταποιήσον,
 Λιγυστάδη, ἥδε δ' ἄειδε Ὀγδωκονταέτη μοῖρα κίχαι θανάτου

12

Anth Pal 9. 50 Μιμνέρμου·

[Μήτε τινὰ ξείνων δηλεύμενος ἔργμασι λυγροῖς
 μήτε τιν' ἐνδήμων, ἀλλὰ δίκαιος ἑών,]¹
 τὴν σαυτοῦ φρέια τέρπε· δυσηλεγέων δὲ πολιτῶν
 ἄλλος τοί σε κακῶς, ἄλλος ἄμεινον ἐρεῖ.

13

Paus 9. 29. 4 Μίμνερμος δὲ ἐλεγεία ἐς τὴν μάχην ποιήσας τὴν
 Ξυρναίων πρὸς Γύγην τε καὶ Λυδούς, φησὶν ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ θυγα-
 τέρας Οὐρανοῦ τὰς ἀρχαιοτέρας Μούσας, τούτων δὲ ἄλλας νεωτέρας
 εἶναι Διὸς παῖδας

14

Stob. *Fl.* 7, 12 π ἀνδρείας· Μιμνέρμου

οὐ μὲν δὴ κείνου γε μένος καὶ ἀγήνορα θυμὸν
 τοῖον ἐμεῦ προτέρων πεύθομαι, οἳ μιν ἴδον
 Λυδῶν ἵππομάχων πυκινὰς κλονέοντα φάλαγγας
 Ἑρμιον ἄμ πεδίον, φῶτα φερεμμελίην·
 τοῦ μὲν ἄρ' οὐκοτε πάμπαν ἐμέμψατο Παλλὰς
 Ἀθήνη
 6 δριμὺ μένος κραδίης, εὖθ' ὃ γ' ² ἀνὰ προμάχους
 σεύαιθ',³ αἵματόεντος ἐν ὑσμίνῃ πολέμοιο
 πικρὰ βιαζόμενος ⁴ δυσμενέων βέλεα·

¹ these 2 ll not in Stob. (see opp) ² Schn · mss εὖθ'
 ὅτ', ἔσθ' ὅτ', ὀππότε' ³ Schn : mss σεύεθ' σεῦ ἢδ' ⁴ mss
 also -μένον

MIMNERMUS

ill-will because I give thee better counsel, change thy song and sing that thou art fain the fate of Death might overtake thee at fourscore.'

12

Palatine Anthology Mimnermus —

[Harming neither sojourner nor citizen with deeds of mischief, but living a righteous man,] rejoice your own heart; of your pitiless fellow-townsmen assuredly some will speak ill of you and some good.¹

13²

Pausanias *Description of Greece* Mimnermus, in the Prelude to the Elegiac lines he writes on the battle between the Smyrnaeans and Gyges and his Lydians, makes the original Muses daughters of Heaven and a younger generation children of Zeus

14

Stobaeus Anthology [on valour] Mimnermus —

Not his were such feeble might and poor nobility of heart, say my elders who saw him rout the serried ranks of Lydian cavalry in the plain of Hermus, rout them with a spear; never at all would Pallas Athene have had cause to blame the sour might of the heart of such as him, when he sped forward in the van, defying the foeman's bitter missiles in the thick of

¹ Theognis 793 has ll 3-4 preceded by ll 1-2 which are not found in the *Anth* and may not belong to M. ² cf. Sch Pind N 3 16

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

οὐ γάρ τις κείνου δηίων ἔπ'¹ ἀμεινότερος φῶς
 10 ἔσκειν ἐποίχεσθαι φυλόπιδος κρατερῆς
 ἔργον, ὅτ' αὐγῇσιν φέρετ' εἵκελος² ἡελίοιο.

15, 16

Et. Mag 187 47 βάξις σημαίνει τὴν φήμην καὶ τὴν ῥῆσιν,
 Μίμνερμος

καί μιν ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους βάξις ἔχει χαλεπή·

ἀργαλέης αἰεὶ βάξιος ἰέμενοι

17

Sch. Il. 16 287 [Παίονας ἱπποκορυστὰς] ἱπποκορυστά, Μίμνερ-
 μος·

Παίονας ἀνδρας ἄγων, ἵνα τε κλειτὸν γένος
 ἵππων

18

Ath 4. 174 a ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος ὁ Σκήψιος καὶ τῷ τετάρτῳ καὶ
 εἰκοστῷ τῆς αὐτῆς πραγματείας (Τρωικοῦ Διακόσμου)

Δαίτην

ἥρωα τιμώμενον παρὰ τοῖς Τρωσίν, οἷς ὑνημονεύειν Μίμνερμον.

19

Ael. V H. 12. 36 εὐίκασιν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν τῆς
 Νόβης παίδων μὴ συνάδειν ἀλλήλοις . . Μίμνερμος εἴκοσι καὶ
 Πίνδαρος τοσοῦτους

¹ *B* mss ἔτ'. *Wil* ἐπαμεινότερος, cf Ἐπαμεινώνδας

² *Mein* mss ὡκέος

MIMNERMUS

bloody war. For no man ever wrought better the work of the fierce battle in face of his enemies, when he went like a ray of the Sun.

15, 16

Etymologicum Magnum βάσις . . . means report or speech; compare Mimnermus :

and hard words possess him before men ;
and

ever desirous to hear grievous words ¹

17

Scholiast on the *Iliad* ['horsehair-crested Paeonians'] compare Mimnermus

leading the men of Paeonia, where the race of hoises is held in honour ²

18

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner* Demetrius of Scepsis also in the 24th Book of the same work (*The Forces of the Trojans*) speaks of

Daetes

as a hero honoured among the Trojans and mentioned by Mimnermus ³

19

Aelian *Historical Miscellany* The ancients seem to vary as to the number of Niobè's children . . . Mimnermus gives her twenty, and Pindar agrees with him.

¹ i.e. ill-report of a man ² or where there is a famous race of horses? cf *Il.* 21 155, Cram *A P* 3 287. 1 ³ cf Eust *Od* 1413 23

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

20

Plut *Fac Lun* 19 εἰ δὲ μή, Θέων ἡμῖν οὗτος τὸν Μίμνερμον ἐπάξει καὶ τὸν Κυδῖαν καὶ τὸν Ἀρχίλοχον, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸν Στησίχορον καὶ τὸν Πίνδαρον, ἐν ταῖς ἐκλείψεισιν ὀλοφυρομένους ἄστρον¹ φανερώτατον² κλεπτόμενον³ καὶ μέσφ ἄματι³ νύκτα γινομέναν⁴ καὶ τὴν ἀκτῖνα τοῦ ἡλίου 'σκότους ἀτραπὸν' φάσκοντας.

21

Arg Soph Ant Μίμνερμος δέ φησι τὴν μὲν Ἰσμήνην προσομιλοῦσαν Θεοκλυμένῃ ὑπὸ Τυδέως κατὰ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐγκέλευσιν τελευτῆσαι

22

Tz *Lyc* 610 Τροίηνία ἡ Ἀφροδίτη . ἡ δὲ Ἀφροδίτη καθὼς φησι Μίμνερμος, ὑπὸ Διομήδους τρωθεῖσα παρέσκευασε τὴν Αἰγιάλειαν πολλοῖς μὲν μοιχοῖς κοιμηθῆναι, ἐρασθῆναι δὲ Ἴππολύτου καὶ Κομήτου υἱοῦ Σθενέλου τοῦ δὲ Διομήδους παραγενόμενου εἰς τὸ Ἄργος, ἐπιβουλευσαι αὐτῷ, τὸν δὲ καταφυγόντα εἰς βωμὸν τῆς Ἥρας διὰ νυκτὸς φυγεῖν σὺν τοῖς ἐταίροις καὶ ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἰταλίαν πρὸς Δαῦνον βασιλέα, ὅστις αὐτὸν δόλφ ἀνείλεν

23

Cod. Athen 1083 *Paroem.* ap Kugéas *Sitz. berichte Bay Akad* 1910 4 p 15 Ἄριστα κτλ φησὶν ὅτι αἱ Ἀμαζόνες τοὺς γινομένους ἄρσενας ἐπήρουν ἢ σκέλος ἢ χεῖρα περιελάμβαναι πολεμοῦντες δὲ πρὸς αὐτὰς οἱ Σκύθαι καὶ βουλόμενοι πρὸς αὐτὰς σπείσασθαι, ἔλεγον ὅτι συνέσσονται τοῖς Σκύθαις εἰς γάμον ἀπηρώτοις καὶ οὐ λελωβημένοις ἀποκριναμένη δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡ Ἀντιείριρα, ἡγεμὼν τῶν Ἀμαζόνων, εἶπεν

ἄριστα χολὸς οἶφεῖ·

μῆμνηται τῆς παροιμίας Μίμ<ν>ερμος

¹ B mss τὸν ² Pind. *Pae* 9 ὑπέρτατον κλ ³ Schott mss ἄμα τὴν ⁴ mss -ην

¹ the 1st citation is from Pindar (*Paeon* 9), the 2nd perh from Stesichorus (*L G.* ii p 19 and fr. 94), and the 3rd, if

MIMNERMUS

20

Plutarch *The Face in the Moon* [eclipses of the Sun] If not, Theon here will call in his support Mimnermus, Cydias, and Archilochus, and with them Stesichorus and Pindar, who bewail in eclipses that 'the most manifest of stars is stolen away' and 'noonday made night,' and declare that the beam of the Sun is 'the path of darkness' ¹

21

Argument to Sophocles *Antigone* According to Mimnermus, Ismenè was killed by Tydeus at Athena's instigation when having intercourse with Theoclymenus

22

Tzetzes on Lycophron The 'Troezenian' is Aphrodite. According to Mimnermus, after her wounding by Diomed she procured the favours of (his wife) Aegialeia for many lovers, and her love for Hippolytus and Cometes son of Sthenelus, and when Diomed went to Argos she plotted against him; whereupon he took sanctuary at the altar of Hera, and fleeing with his companions by night passed into Italy and went to the court of King Daunus who killed him by a trick

23

From a *Collection of Proverbs* 'Lame men,' etc. - this means that the Amazons maimed their male children by removing either a leg or a hand, and when the Scythians, desiring to come to terms in their war against them, told them that they would find in them no maimed or mutilated bedfellows, their queen Antianeira replied

Lame men make lusty husbands.

The saying is given by Mimnermus ²

For other fragments, wrongly ascribed to Mimnermus, see Stob *Fl* 102 3, 125 12, Cram *An Ox* 1102.

not from *Paean* 9, perh from Archilochus (cf fr 74), cf. Ginzl p 525 ² ascription doubtful (it is at any rate not part of an iambic, unless we read *οἰφείη*), cf Diogen 2 2

ΣΟΛΩΝΟΣ

Βίος

Suid. Σόλων· Ἐξηκεστίδου, Ἀθηναῖος, φιλόσοφος, νομοθέτης καὶ δημαγωγός. γέγονε δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς μζ' Ὀλυμπιάδος, οἱ δὲ νς' . . . ἔγραψε νόμους Ἀθηναίοις, οἵτινες ἄξονες ὠνομάσθησαν διὰ τὸ γραφῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐν ξυλίνοις ἄξοσιν Ἀθήνησι. ποιήμα δι' ἐλεγείων, ὃ Σάλαμις ἐπιγράφεται Ὑποθήκας δι' ἐλεγείων καὶ ἄλλα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ οὗτος εἰς τῶν Ἑπτὰ ὀνομαζομένων Σοφῶν. καὶ φέρεται αὐτοῦ ἀπόφθεγμα τόδε· Μηδὲν ἄγαν, ἢ τὸ Γνώθι σαυτόν.

Paus 10. 24 1 ἐν δὲ τῷ προνάῳ τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς γεγραμμένα ἐστὶν ὠφελήματα ἀνθρώποις εἰς βίον· ἐγράφη δὲ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν οὓς γενέσθαι σοφοὺς λέγουσιν Ἑλληνες. οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν . . . ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθεσαν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὰ ἀδόμενα Γνώθι σαυτόν καὶ Μηδὲν ἄγαν.

Isocr 15. 232 [π. Σόλωνος]· ἐκεῖνός τε γὰρ προστάτης τοῦ δήμου καταστάς οὕτως ἐνομοθέτησε καὶ τὰ πράγματα διέταξε καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατεσκεύασεν, ὥστ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀγαπᾶσθαι τὴν διοίκησιν τὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνου συνταχθεῖσαν.

Dem. 26. 23 ὥς πάνδεινόν ἐστι τοὺς μὲν προγόνους ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ καταλυθῆναι τοὺς νόμους ἀποθνήσκειν τολμᾶν, ὑμᾶς δὲ μηδὲ τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας εἰς αὐτοὺς τιμωρεῖσθαι προελέσθαι, καὶ

SOLON

LIFE

Suidas *Lexicon* : Solon :—Son of Execestides, an Athenian; philosopher, lawgiver, and popular leader. He flourished in the 47th Olympiad (592–89 B.C.) or according to some authorities in the 56th (556–3 B.C.). He wrote laws for the Athenians, and these laws were alled ‘axles’ because they were inscribed at Athens on wooden tablets that revolved. His other works are an Elegiac poem called *Salamis*, Elegiac *Exhortations*, and others. He is one of the Seven Sages as they are called. Well-known sayings of his are *Moderation in all things* and *Know thyself*.¹

Pausanias *Description of Greece*. In the antechamber of the temple at Delphi are inscribed maxims for the bettering of human life. Their authors are the men the Greeks say were wise, namely. . . . These men came to Delphi and dedicated to Apollo the well-known sayings *Know thyself* and *Moderation in all things* ²

Isocrates *On the Exchange* [Solon]: When he became chief of the people he made such laws and so regulated public affairs and the constitution of the state that we are content with the system he established to this day.

Demosthenes *Against Aristogeiton* : How monstrous, that while your ancestors chose to die to save the laws of their country, you should not see fit even to punish those who break them¹ How monstrous

¹ cf. Ath. quoted on p 226 ² *ht* Do nothing too much

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

τὸν μὲν γράψαντα τοὺς νόμους Σόλωνα χαλκοῦν ἐν ἀγορᾷ στήσαι, αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν νόμων ὀλιγοροῦν-
τας φαίνεσθαι δι' οὓς κἀκείνον ὑπερβαλλόντως
συμβέβηκε τιμᾶσθαι

Plut. Ser. Vind 4 . . . τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος, ἄτιμον εἶναι τὸν ἐν στάσει πόλεως μηδετέρα μερίδι προσθέμενον μηδὲ συστασιάσαντα.

Arist. 'Αθ. Πολ. 6 κύριος δὲ γενόμενος τῶν πραγμάτων Σόλων τὸν τε δῆμον ἐλευθέρωσε καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ εἰς τὸ μέλλον, κωλύσας δανείζειν ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν, καὶ νόμους ἔθηκε καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς ἐποίησε καὶ τῶν ιδίων καὶ τῶν δημοσίων, ἃς σεισάχθειαν καλοῦσιν, ὥς ἀποσεισαμένων τὸ βάρος . . . πολιτείαν δὲ κατέστησε καὶ νόμους ἔθηκεν ἄλλους, τοῖς δὲ Δράκοντος θεσμοῖς ἐπαύσαντο χρώμενοι πλὴν τῶν φονικῶν. ἀναγράφαντες δὲ τοὺς νόμους εἰς τοὺς κύρβεις, ἔστησαν ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ βασιλείῳ καὶ ὤμοσαν χρήσασθαι πάντες· οἱ δ' ἐννέα ἄρχοντες ὀμνύντες πρὸς τῷ λίθῳ κατεφάτιζον, ἀναθήσειν ἀνδριάντα χρυσοῦν ἐάν τινα παραβῶσιν τῶν νόμων· ὅθεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν οὕτως ὀμνύουσι. κατέκλησεν δὲ τοὺς νόμους εἰς ἑκατὸν ἔτη, καὶ διέταξε τὴν πολιτείαν τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· τιμήματι διείλεν εἰς τέτταρα τέλη, κτλ.

Ibid 9 δοκεῖ δὲ τῆς Σόλωνος πολιτείας τρία ταῦτ' εἶναι τὰ δημοτικώτατα· πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μέγιστον τὸ μὴ δανείζειν ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν, ἔπειτα τὸ ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ τιμωρεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδικουμένων, τρίτον δὲ <ῶ> μάλιστά φασιν

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that while they set up in the marketplace a statue of Solon who wrote them,¹ you should be seen to despise the very laws which have given such exceeding honour to his name!

Plutarch *On the Slow Revenge of the Deity* . . . the provision of Solon that the man who took neither side in civil discord should lose his citizenship.

Aristotle *Constitution of Athens* . When Solon had become master, he set the people free once and for all by forbidding loans on the security of the person, and made laws and cancelled debts both public and private, which cancellation is called the *Seisachthia* or Disburdening. . . . He established a constitution and made other laws, and all the ordinances of Dracon except those that dealt with homicide became null and void. The laws were inscribed on the 'pivot-boards'² and set up in the Royal Colonnade, and all the citizens took an oath to observe them, while the Nine Archons made a formal promise upon oath at the altar in the marketplace that if they transgressed any of the laws they would dedicate a golden statue; which is why they take the oath in this way at the present day. Solon made the laws unalterable for a hundred years, and arranged the constitution as follows . He divided the people by assessment into four classes, etc.

The Same The most democratic of Solon's enactments were these three - first and greatest, the forbidding of loans on the person, secondly, the granting of redress to any that chose to ask for it, and thirdly, what is said more than all else to have strengthened the arm of the common people, the

¹ cf. Aeschin 1 25 Sch ² remains of these were to be seen c. 80 A.D. in the Prytaneum at Athens, Plut *Sol* 25

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

ἰσχυκέναι τὸ πλήθος, ἢ εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ἔφεσις· κύριος γὰρ ὢν ὁ δῆμος τῆς ψήφου κύριος γίγνεται τῆς πολιτείας . . . ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς νόμοις ταῦτα δοκεῖ θεῖναι δημοτικά, πρὸ δὲ τῆς νομοθεσίας ποιῆσαι τὴν τῶν χρεῶν ἀποκοπὴν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν τε τῶν μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν καὶ τὴν τοῦ νομίσματος αὐξῆσιν.

Ibid. 11 διατάξας δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν ὄνπερ εἴρηται τρόπον, ἐπειδὴ προσιόντες αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν νόμων ἐνώχλουν, τὰ μὲν ἐπιτιμῶντες τὰ δὲ ἀνακρίνοντες, βουλόμενος μήτε ταῦτα κινεῖν μήτ' ἀπεχθάνεσθαι παρῶν, ἀποδημίαν ἐποιήσατο κατ' ἐμπορίαν ἅμα καὶ θεωρίαν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, εἰπὼν ὡς οὐχ ἥξει δέκα ἐτῶν· οὐ γὰρ οἴεσθαι δίκαιον εἶναι τοὺς νόμους ἐξηγεῖσθαι παρῶν, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον τὰ γεγραμμένα ποιεῖν.

Stob. Fl. 29. 88 Αἰλιανοῦ· Σόλων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, Ἐξηκεστίδου παρὰ πότον τοῦ ἀδελφίδου αὐτοῦ μέλος τι Σαπφούς ἄσαντος, ἦσθη τῷ μέλει καὶ προσέταξε τῷ μεираκίῳ διδάξαι αὐτόν. ἐρωτήσαντος δέ τινος διὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν τοῦτο ἐσπούδακεν, ὅδε ἔφη· Ἵνα μαθὼν αὐτὸ ἀποθάνω.

Luc. Macr. 18 Σόλων δὲ καὶ Θαλῆς καὶ Πιπτακός, οὔτινες τῶν κληθέντων Ἑπτὰ Σοφῶν ἐγένοντο, ἑκατὸν ἕκαστος ἔζησεν ἔτη.

Diog. L. 1 61 γέγραφε δὲ δῆλον μὲν ὅτι τοὺς νόμους, καὶ Δημηγορίας καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὸν Ὑποθήκας, ἐλεγεία, καὶ τὰ περὶ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων Πολιτείας, ἔπη πεντακισχίλια, καὶ Ἰάμβους καὶ Ἐπιδόους. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς εἰκόνης αὐτοῦ ἐπιγράφεται τάδε·

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right of appeal to the courts of law; for, made master of the vote, the people becomes master of the constitution. These then appear to be the democratic elements in the laws of Solon. His cancellation of debt seems to have been done before he made the laws. After this came his increasing of weights and measures and appreciation of the currency.

The Same : When the system above described was established, his fellow-citizens began so to annoy him with their importunities, complaining of this and enquiring about that, that to avoid both the making of changes and the unpopularity which would come if he waited for it, he went away to Egypt on a visit that should combine business with the seeing of sights, declaring that he would not return for ten years; what was wanted was not that he should be there to expound the law, but that every Athenian should abide by it.

Stobaeus *Anthology* : Aelian :—One evening over the wine, Excectides the nephew of Solon the Athenian sang a song of the poetess Sappho's which his uncle liked so well that he bade the boy teach it him; and when one of the company asked in surprise 'What for?' he replied 'I want to learn it and die.'

Lucian *Longevity*. Solon, Thales, and Pittacus, who were of the so-called Seven Sages, lived each a hundred years (cf. fr. 27 17)

Diogenes Laertius *Life of Solon*. Besides, of course, the laws, he wrote *Speeches to the People* and *Exhortations to Himself* in elegiacs, and the poems on *Salamis* and *The Athenian Constitution*, in all 5000 lines, as well as *Iambi* and *Epodes*. His statue is thus inscribed:

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

‘Η Μήδων ἄδικον παύσας’ ὕβριν, ἥδε Σόλωνα
τόνδε τεκνοῖ Σαλαμῖς θεσμοθέτην ἱερόν.¹

ἤκμαζε μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν ἔκτην
Ὀλυμπιάδα, ἥς τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει ἤρξεν Ἀθήνησι,
καθὰ φησι Σωσικράτης· ὅτε καὶ τίθησι τοὺς
νόμους. ἐτελεύτησε δ’ ἐν Κύπρῳ βιούς ἔτη
ὀγδοήκοντα, τοῦτον ἐπισκήψας τοῖς ἰδίοις τὸν
τρόπον, ἀποκομίσαι αὐτοῦ τὰ ὀστᾶ εἰς Σαλαμῖνα
καὶ τεφρώσαντας εἰς τὴν χώραν σπεῖραι. ὅθεν
καὶ Κρατῖνος ἐν τοῖς Χείρῳσί φησιν, αὐτὸν ποιῶν
λέγοντα·

οἰκῶ δὲ νῆσον, ὥς μὲν ἀνθρώπων λόγος,
ἔσπαρμένους κατὰ πᾶσαν Αἴαντος πόλιν.

Plut. Sol. 32 3 ἐπεβίωσε δ’ οὖν ὁ Σόλων ἀρξα-
μενου τοῦ Πεισιστράτου τυραννεῖν, ὥς μὲν
Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἱστορεῖ, συχνὸν χρόνον,
ὥς δὲ Φανίας ὁ Ἐρέσιος, ἐλάττονα δυοῖν ἐτῶν.
ἐπὶ Κωμίου μὲν γὰρ ἤρξατο τυραννεῖν Πεισι-
στρατος, ἐφ’ Ἡγεστράτου δὲ Σόλωνα φησιν ὁ
Φανίας ἀποθανεῖν τοῦ μετὰ Κωμίαν ἄρξαντος. ἡ
δὲ διασπορὰ κατακαυθέντος αὐτοῦ τῆς τέφρας
περὶ τὴν Σαλαμινίων νῆσον ἔστι μὲν διὰ τὴν
ἀτοπίαν ἀπίθανος παντάπασι καὶ μυθώδης,
ἀναγέγραπται δὲ ὑπὸ τε ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν ἀξιολόγων
καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους τοῦ φιλοσόφου.

Plat. Charm οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι ἄλλον οὐδένα τῶν
ἐνθάδε ῥαδίως ἂν ἔχειν ἐπιδεῖξαι ποῖαι δύο
οἰκίαι συνελθοῦσαι εἰς ταῦτὸν τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἐκ
τῶν εἰκότων καλλίῳ ἂν καὶ ἀμείνῳ γεννήσειαν ἢ
ἐξ ὧν σὺ γέγονας. ἡ τε γὰρ πατρῷα ὑμῖν οἰκία,

LIFE OF SOLON

Solon the lawgiver is this,
Son of yon holy Salamis
That made the pride of Media cease ¹

He flourished, according to Socrates, in the 46th Olympiad, in the 3rd year of which (594 B.C.) he was archon at Athens; it was then that he enacted his laws. He died in Cyprus at the age of eighty, leaving instructions to his kinsfolk that his bones should be carried to Salamis and there burnt to ashes and scattered over the soil. And this is why Cratinus in the *Cheirons* makes him say:

My home's an island, and my dust men tell
Is scattered o'er the towns of Ajax' land.

Plutarch *Life of Solon*. According to Heracleides of Pontus, Solon survived the beginning of the reign of Peisistratus by some considerable time, according to Phanas of Eresus, by less than two years. Peisistratus' reign began in the archonship of Comias (561 B.C.) and Phanas declares that Solon died in that of the next archon Hegestratus. The absurdity of the scattering of his ashes over the island of Salamis would seem to make it entirely improbable and mythical, and yet it is attested by reputable authorities including the philosopher Aristotle.

Plato *Charmides*: If I am not mistaken, hardly anybody in this city could point to two Athenian houses which have united to produce in him so true a nobleman as the two from which you spring. The fame of your father's family, the house of

¹ the mss make 'holy' an epithet of 'lawgiver'

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ἡ Κριτίου τοῦ Δρωπίδου, καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀνακρέοντος καὶ ὑπὸ Σόλωνος καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων πολλῶν ποιητῶν ἐγκεκωμιασμένη παραδέδοται ἡμῖν ὡς διαφέρουσα κάλλει τε καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ λεγομένη εὐδαιμονίᾳ, καὶ αὖ ἡ πρὸς μητρὸς ὡσαύτως . .

Hdt. i. 86 τῷ δὲ Κροίσῳ ἐστεῶτι ἐπὶ τῆς πυρῆς ἐσελθεῖν, καίπερ ἐν κακῷ ἐόντι τοσοῦτῳ, τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος, ὥς οἱ εἶη σὺν θεῷ εἰρημένον, τὸ μηδένα εἶναι τῶν ζώντων ὄλβιον.

Plut Vit. Sol. 10 οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ τῶν Μεγαρέων ἐπιμενόντων πολλὰ κακὰ καὶ δρῶντες ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ πάσχοντες ἐποίησαντο Λακεδαιμονίους διαλλακτὰς καὶ δικαστάς. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τῷ Σόλῳι συναγωνίσασθαι λέγουσι τὴν Ὀμήρου δόξαν· ἐμβαλόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔπος εἰς Νεῶν Κατάλογον ἐπὶ τῆς δίκης ἀναγνῶναι (Pl. 2. 557).

Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας,
στήσῃ δ' ἄγων ἔν' Ἀθηναίων ἴσταντο φάλαγγες.
αὐτοῖδ' Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτα μὲν οἶονται φλυαρίαν εἶναι,
τὸν δὲ Σόλωνα φασιν ἀποδείξαι τοῖς δικασταῖς ὅτι
Φιλαῖος καὶ Εὐρυσάκης, Αἴαντος υἱοί, Ἀθήνησι
πολιτείας μεταλαβόντες παρέδωκαν τὴν νῆσον
αὐτοῖς, καὶ κατῴκησαν ὁ μὲν ἐν Βραυρῶνι τῆς
Ἀττικῆς, ὁ δὲ ἐν Μελίτῃ· καὶ δῆμον ἐπώνυμον
Φιλαίου τῶν Φιλαῖδων ἔχουσιν, ὅθεν ἦν Πεισί-
στρατος. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐξελέγξαι τοὺς Μεγαρέας
βουλόμενον ἰσχυρίσασθαι περὶ τῶν νεκρῶν ὡς
οὐχ ὅν τρόπον ἐκεῖνοι θάπτουσι κεκηδευμένων
ἀλλ' ὅν αὐτοί, κτλ.

LIFE OF SOLON

Critias son of Dropides, has come down to us crowned with the praises accorded it by Anacreon, Solon, and many other poets, for the beauty, the virtue, and the prosperity as it is called, of those who have belonged to it; the same is true of your mother's

Herodotus *Histories*: As he stood there upon the pyre, Croesus, it is said, remembered, for all he was in such evil case, how truly inspired was the saying of Solon that no man living is happy.¹

Plutarch *Life of Solon*. But the Megarians nevertheless persevering (in the war for Salamis), the Athenians, who both suffered and inflicted much hardship in the war, appointed Sparta to arbitrate between them and their enemies. Most authorities declare Solon's case found support in the reputation of Homer, for that he foisted a line into the Catalogue of Ships and read it at the hearing, making it:

And Ajax twelve sail led from Salamis

And leading set them next the Athenian hosts.

But the Athenians themselves consider this an idle tale, and maintain that Solon proved to the court that Philaeus and Eurysaces, sons of Ajax, gave Athens the island on receiving Athenian citizenship, and settled the one at Melitè (which is a part of Athens) and the other at Brauron in Attica; and they have a deme or parish Philaidæ, named after Philaeus, to which Peisistratus belonged. And they add that in order to make his case still stronger Solon insisted that the Salaminians did not bury their dead after the Megarian manner, but after the Athenian, etc.

¹ see the whole story, which is too long to quote here

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Ibid 31 ὁ δὲ Σόλων ἀψάμενος μεγάλης τῆς
περὶ τὸν Ἀτλαντικὸν λόγον ἢ μῦθον πραγματείας,
ὃν διήκουσε τῶν περὶ Σάιν λογίων προσήκοντα
τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐξέκαμεν, οὐ δι' ἀσχολίας ὡς
Πλάτων φησίν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ γήρως, φοβη-
θεὶς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς γραφῆς.

ΣΟΛΩΝΟΣ

Α' ἙΛΕΓΕΙΩΝ

1-3 Σαλαμίς

Plut *Vit Sol* 8 ἐπεὶ δὲ μακρὸν τινα καὶ δυσχερῆ πόλεμον οἱ
ἐν ἄστει περὶ τῆς Σαλαμινίων νήσου Μεγαρεῦσι πολεμοῦντες
ἐξέκαμον καὶ νόμον ἔθεντο μήτε γράψαι τινὰ μῆγ' εἰπεῖν αὐθις ὡς
χρὴ τὴν πόλιν ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τῆς Σαλαμῖνος, ἢ θανάτῳ ζημιοῦσθαι,
βαρέως φέρων τὴν ἀδοξίαν ὁ Σόλων καὶ τῶν νέων ὄρων πολλοὺς
δεομένους ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, αὐτοὺς δὲ μὴ θαρροῦντας
ἄρξασθαι διὰ τὸν νόμον, ἐσκήψατο μὲν ἕκστασιν τῶν λυγισμῶν,
καὶ λόγος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας διεδόθη παρακινήτικῳ ἔχειν
αὐτόν, ἔλεγεία δὲ κρύφα συνθεῖς καὶ μελετήσας ὥστε λέγειν ἀπὸ
στόματος, ἐξεπῆδησεν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἄφνω πιλίδιον περιθέμενος
ὕχλου δὲ πολλοῦ συνδραμόντος ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ κήρυκος λίθον
ἐν ᾧ δὴ διεξῆλθε τὴν ἐλεγείαν ἧς ἐστὶν ἀρχή·

Αὐτὸς κῆρυξ ἦλθον ἀφ' ἡμερτῆς Σαλαμῖνος,
κόσμον ἐπέων ᾧδῃν αὐτ' ἀγορῆς θέμενος.

τοῦτο τὸ ποίημα Σαλαμῖς ἐπιγέγραπται καὶ στίχων ἑκατὸν ἐστί,
χαριέντως πάννυ πεποημένον τότε δ' ἀσθέντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν
φίλων τοῦ Σόλωνος ἄρξαμένων ἐπαινεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦ Πεισι-
στράτου τοῖς πολίταις ἐγκελευομένου καὶ παρορμῶντος πείθεσθαι τῷ
λέγοντι, λύσαντες τὸν νόμον αὐθις ἤπτοντο τοῦ πολέμου προστησά-
μενοι τὸν Σόλωνα.

¹ cf Justin. 2 7, Philod *Mus* 20 K ² or more accu-
rately, as we say, an opening, cf. Theophr. *Char.* 7. 3
³ caps were worn by the sick ⁴ or sang? *lit* went through
in song (or recitation), but note the absence of any mention
of a fluteplayer, the so-called singing was prob. formal
recitation like that of a rhapsode (cf. τῷ λέγοντι below)

SOLON

The Same: After beginning on a large scale his history or fable of Atlantis, a fable which the learned men of Sais related to him as one that concerned the Athenians, he gave it up, not as Plato says for lack of time, but rather because he was grown old and feared the task would be too great

See also Ael. *V.H.* 8. 16, Diod. Sic 9. 1 ff, Plut. *Sol.*

SOLON

BOOK 1 ELEGIES

1-3 SALAMIS

Plutarch *Life of Solon*¹. Having waged a long and grievous war against Megara for the possession of the isle of Salamis, the Athenians of the city at last made an end of it and passed a law that none should prefer Athens' claim to Salamis in either speech or writing on pain of death. Scarcely able to bear the shame of this decision, and observing that many of the younger generation were desirous of a pretext² for renewing the war but durst not take the first step themselves because of the new law, Solon feigned that he had lost his wits, word was put about from his house that he was beside himself, and after he had secretly written some elegiac verses and conned them till he could say them without book, he went quickly and suddenly out into the marketplace with a little cap upon his head³. A great crowd swarming about him, he now mounted the herald's stone and recited⁴ the *Elegy* which begins:

A herald am I from lovely Salamis, and have made me instead of a speech⁵ a song that is an ornament of words

This poem is entitled *Salamis* and contains a hundred lines, it is a very fine piece of work. When it ended, Solon's friends began to praise him, and not least Peisistratus, who pressed his fellow-countrymen so urgently to take the speaker's advice, that they repealed the law and renewed the struggle, putting Solon in command

⁵ cf Phot. *Lex* Reitz. ἀγορά· Σόλων δὲ τὸ πρὸς λόγῳ ἀγορεύειν

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

2, 3

Diog L 1.2 2 . . . οὗτος μάλινεσθαι προσποιησάμενος καὶ στεφανωσάμενος εἰσέπαισεν εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, ἔνθα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀνέγνω διὰ κήρυκος τὰ συντείνοντα περὶ Σαλαμῖνος ἐλεγεῖα καὶ παράρμησεν αὐτούς, καὶ αὖθις πρὸς τοὺς Μεγαρέας ἐπολέμησαν καὶ ἐνίκων διὰ Σόλωνα ἦν δὲ τὰ ἐλεγεῖα τὰ μάλιστα καθαψάμενα τῶν Ἀθηναίων τάδε

εἶην δὴ τότ' ἐγὼ Φολεγάνδριος ἢ Σικινήτης
 ἀντί γ' Ἀθηναίου, πατρίδ' ἀμειψάμενος·
 αἶψα γὰρ ἂν φάτις ἦδε μετ' ἀνθρώποισι γένοιτο·
 Ἀττικὸς οὗτος ἀνὴρ τῶν Σαλαμιναφετῶν.¹

εἶτα

ἴομεν εἰς Σαλαμῖνα, μαχησόμενοι περὶ νήσου
 ἱμερτῆς, χαλεπὸν τ' αἰσχος ἀπωσόμενοι.

4

Dem F L. 254 λέγε δὴ μοι λαβὼν καὶ τὰ τοῦ Σόλωνος ἐλεγεῖα ταυτί, ἵν' εἰδῇθ' ὅτι καὶ Σόλων ἐμίσει τοὺς οἷος οὗτος ἀνθρώπους οὐ λέγειν εἴσω τὴν χεῖρ' ἔχοντ', Αἰσχίνη, δεῖ, οὐ, ἀλλὰ πρεσβεύειν εἴσω τὴν χεῖρ' ἔχοντα σὺ δ' ἐκεῖ προτείνας καὶ ὑποσχὰν καὶ καταισχύνας τούτους ἐνθάδε σεμνολογεῖ, καὶ λογάρια δύστηνα μελετήσας καὶ φωνασκήσας οὐκ οἶε δίκην δώσειν τηλικούτων καὶ τοσούτων ἀδικημάτων, ἂν πιλίδιον λαβὼν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν περινοστής καὶ ἐμοὶ λοιδορῇ λέγε σύ

Ἡμετέρῃ δὲ πόλις κατὰ μὲν Διὸς οὔποτ' ὀλεῖται
 αἶσαν καὶ μακάρων θεῶν φρένας ἀθανάτων·
 τοίη γὰρ μεγάλθυμος ἐπίσκοπος ὄβριμοπάτρη
 Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη χεῖρας ὑπερθευ ἔχει·

¹ Voss: mss Σαλαμῖν' ἀφέντων (-εντων)

¹ cf Plut Praec Reip 17, Dem. F L 252 ² small islands
³ cf Apost 9. 6 b, Ars. 304, Sch Dem p 94 b

SOLON

2, 3

Diogenes Laertius *Life of Solon* Solon feigned madness and rushed garlanded into the marketplace, where he had a herald read the bracing elegiac verses on Salamis, and so roused them that they renewed the war against Megara, and thanks to Solon were victorious. The lines which particularly inflamed the Athenians were these ¹

Then may I change my country and be a man of Pholegandros or Sicinus ² instead of an Athenian, for full soon would this be the report among men: This is an Athenian of the tribe of Salaminaphetae or Letters-go of Salamis.

And again ³

Let us to Salamis, to fight for a lovely isle and put away from us dishonour hard to bear.

4 ⁴

Demosthenes *On the Embassy*. Now take and recite, pray, these elegiac lines of Solon, that the jury may know that Solon, like us, hated such men as the defendant. The point is, Aeschines, not that you should keep your hand in your cloak when you play the orator, but that you should do so when you play the ambassador, instead of which you held it out and opened it wide in Macedonia and brought your colleagues to disgrace, and now you hold forth here, and you just con and mouth some miserable rigmaroles, and then think, I suppose, that you will escape the penalty of a long list of heinous crimes if you merely don a little cap ⁵ and walk abroad and abuse me. Now, Sir, recite

But Athens, albeit she will never perish by the destiny of Zeus or the will of the happy Gods immortal—for of such power is the great-hearted Guardian, Daughter of a Mighty Sire, that holdeth

Sauppe, Ulp in Dem *F L*. p 152 Dobs, Ald Voem. ⁴ cf. Ar. *Eq* 1173 ff ⁵ as a (sham) invalid (and cf Solon)

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

5 αὐτοὶ δὲ φθείρειν μεγάλην πόλιν ἀφραδίῃσιν
 ἄστοι βούλονται χρήμασι πειθόμενοι,
 δήμου θ' ἡγεμόνων ἀδίκος νόος, οἷσιν ἐτοῖμον
 ὕβριος ἐκ μεγάλης ἄλγεα πολλὰ παθεῖν.
 οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστανται κατέχειν κόρον οὐδὲ παρούσης¹
 10 εὐφροσύνας κοσμεῖν δαιτὸς ἐν ἡσυχίῃ.²

πλουτοῦσιν δ' ἀδίκους ἔργμασι πειθόμενοι²

οὐθ' ἱερῶν κτέανων οὔτε τι δημοσίων
 φειδόμενοι κλέπτουσιν ἐφ' ἀρπαγῇ ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος
 οὐδὲ φυλάσσονται σεμνὰ θέμεθλα Δίκης,³
 15 ἢ σιγῶσα σύνοιδε τὰ γιγνόμενα πρό τ' ἔοντα,
 τῷ δὲ χρόνῳ πάντως ἦλθ' ἀποτεισομένη⁴
 τοῦτ' ἤδη πάσῃ πόλει ἔρχεται ἔλκος ἀφυκτον.
 εἰς δὲ κακὴν ταχέως ἦλυθε δουλοσύνην,
 ἣ στάσιν ἔμφυλον πόλεμόν θ' εὖδοντ' ἐπεγείρει,⁵
 20 ὃς πολλῶν ἐρατὴν ὤλεσεν ἡλικίην.
 ἐκ γὰρ δυσμενέων ταχέως πολυήρατον ἄστυ
 τρύχεται ἐν συνόδοις τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι φίλαις.⁶
 ταῦτα μὲν ἐν δήμῳ στρέφεται κακά· τῶν δὲ
 πενιχρῶν

ἱκνοῦνται πολλοὶ γαίαν ἐς ἄλλοδαπὴν
 25 πραθέντες δεσμοῖσί τ' ἀεικελίοισι δεθέντες,
 καὶ κακὰ δουλοσύνης ἔργα φέρουσι βίᾳ.⁷
 οὕτω δημόσιον κακὸν ἔρχεται οἴκαδ' ἐκάστω,
 αὐλαιοι δ' ἔτ' ἔχειν οὐκ ἐθέλουσι θύραι,
 ὑψηλὸν δ' ὑπὲρ ἔρκος ὑπέρθορεν, εὔρε δὲ πάντως,⁸
 30 εἰ καὶ⁹ τις φεύγων ἐν μυχῇ ἢ θαλάμῳ¹⁰

¹ mss -σας ² no gap in mss ³ B (here and 28c 3
 alone would ε remain short before mute + liquid in S) : mss

SOLON

Her hands over us—, Her own people, for lucre's sake, are fain to make ruin of this great city by their folly. Unrighteous is the mind of the leaders of the commons, and their pride goeth before a fall; for they know not how to hold them from excess nor to direct in peace the jollity of their present feasting but grow rich through the suasion of unrighteous deeds ¹ and steal right and left with no respect for possessions sacred or profane, nor have heed of the awful foundations of Justice, who is so well aware in her silence of what is and what hath been, and soon or late cometh alway to avenge. This is a wound that cometh inevitable and forthwith to every city, and she falleth quickly into an evil servitude, which arouseth discord and waketh slumbering War that destroyeth the lovely prime of so many men. For in gatherings ² dear to the unrighteous a delightful city is quickly brought low at the hands of them that are her enemies. Such are the evils which then are rife among the common folk, and many of the poor go slaves into a foreign land, bound with unseemly fetters, there to bear perforce the evil works of servitude.³ So cometh the common evil into every house, and the street-doors will no longer keep it out; it leapeth the high hedge and findeth every man, for all he may go hide himself in

¹ as line 11 appears sound, it is supposed that an hexameter is lost before and after it ² perh. associations or clubs

³ this line is of doubtful ms-authority

δικ θεμ ⁴ most mss -σαμένη ⁵ mss also ἐπαγείρει,
ἀπαγείρειν ⁶ B mss φίλους, φίλοις ⁷ Goettling-*E*,
cf. 38 one ms παίκακα δ ζυγὰ φ βία, others omit ⁸ mss
also -τας ⁹ marg Lessing mss γέ ¹⁰ B mss ἡ θαλάμῳ

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

ταῦτα διδάξαι θυμὸς Ἀθηναίους με κελεύει,
 ὥς κακὰ πλείστα πόλει δυσνομία παρέχει,
 εὐνομία δ' εὖκοσμα καὶ ἄρτια πάντ' ἀποφαίνει,
 καὶ θάμα τοῖς ἀδίκους ἀμφιτίθησι πέδας·
 35 τραχέα λειαίνει, παύει κόρον, ὕβριν ἀμαυροῖ,
 αὐαίνει δ' ἄτης ἄνθεα φυόμενα,
 εὐθύνει δὲ δίκας σκολιὰς ὑπερήφανά τ' ἔργα
 πραῦνει, παύει δ' ἔργα διχοστασίης,
 παύει δ' ἀργαλέης ἔριδος χόλον, ἔστι δ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς
 40 πάντα κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἄρτια καὶ πινυτά.

5, 6

Arist Ἀθ Πολ 12 ταῦτα δ' ἔτι τοῦτον <τὸν> τρόπον ἔσχεν,
 οἷ τ' ἄλλοι συμφωνοῦσι πάντες καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ ποιήσει μέμνηται
 περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖσδε
 δῆμῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκα τόσον γέρας ὅσον ἀπαρκεῖ¹
 τιμῆς οὐτ' ἀφελῶν οὐτ' ἐπορεζάμενος.²
 οἱ δ' εἶχον δύναμιν καὶ χρήμασιν ἦσαν ἀγῆτοί,
 καὶ τοῖς ἐφρασάμην μηδὲν ἀεικὲς ἔχειν·
 ἔστην δ' ἀμφιβαλὼν κρατερὸν σάκος ἀμφοτέροισι,
 6 νικᾶν δ' οὐκ εἶας οὐδετέρους ἀδίκως.
 πάλιν δ' ἀποφαινόμενος περὶ τοῦ πλήθους, ὥς αὐτῷ δεῖ χρῆσθαι
 δῆμος δ' ὧδ' ἂν ἄριστα σὺν ἡγεμόνεσσιν ἔποιτο,
 μήτε λίαν ἀνεθεῖς μήτε βιαζόμενος³
 τίττει γὰρ κόρος ὕβριν ὅταν πολλὸς ὄλβος ἔπῃται
 ἀνθρώποισιν ὅσοις⁴ μὴ νόος ἄρτιος ᾖ.

¹ Plut ἐπ- and τόσον κράτος ² Pap ουτ απορεζαμενος and then οσοι
³ Plut πιεζόμενος ⁴ Theogn ὅταν κακῷ
 and ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὕψι and τοι for γὰρ

SOLON

his chamber. This it is that my heart biddeth me tell the Athenians, and how that even as ill-government giveth a city much trouble, so good rule maketh all things orderly and perfect, and often putteth fetters upon the unrighteous; aye, she maketh the rough smooth, checketh excess, confuseth outrage; she withereth the springing weeds of ruin, she straighteneth crooked judgments, she mollifieth proud deeds, she stoppeth the works of faction, she stilleth the wrath of baneful strife; and of her all is made wise and perfect in the world of men.

5, 6

Aristotle *Constitution of Athens*.¹ To support what I say there is not only the unanimous testimony of all other authorities, but Solon's own mention of this in these lines:

For I gave the common folk such privilege as is sufficient for them, neither adding nor taking away; and such as had power and were admired for their riches, I provided that they too should not suffer undue wrong. Nay, I stood with a strong shield thrown before the both sorts, and would have neither to prevail unrighteously over the other.

And again he sets forth how the commons should be treated.²

So best will the people follow their leaders, neither too little restrained nor yet perforce; for excess breedeth outrage when much prosperity followeth those whose mind is not perfect.³

¹ cf Plut *Sol* 18. Aristid 1 829, 11 360 ² Plut *Sol.*
et Popl 2, *Popl* 25 ³ cf Clem *Al Str.* 6. 740 (contrasts
Theogn 153), Diogen. 8. 22, Diog L 1. 59

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

7

Plut *Vit Sol* 25 βουλόμενος διαφυγεῖν τὸ δυσάρεστον καὶ φιλαίτιον τῶν πολιτῶν—'ἔργμασι' γὰρ 'ἐν μεγάλοις' κτλ ὡς αὐτὸς εἴρηκε—ἐξέπλευσε δεκαετῇ παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀποδημίαν αἰτησάμενος.

ἔργμασιν ἐν μεγάλοις πᾶσιν ἀδεῖν χαλεπὸν

8

Choric 107 Boiss γῇ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσιν ἐπίσταται φέρειν ὅσα τίκτουσιν ὥραι, ὑπτία τε πᾶσα καὶ καθευμένη, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος

λιπαρὴν κουροτρόφος

θάλαττα δὲ κτλ.

9, 10

Diod Sic 9 21 λέγεται δὲ Σόλων καὶ προστεῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὴν ἐσομένην τυραννίδα δι' ἐλεγείων·

Ἐκ νεφέλης πέλεται χιόνος μένος ἡδὲ χαλάζης,
βροντὴ δ' ἐκ λαμπρᾶς γίγνεται ἀστεροπῆς·
ἀνδρῶν δ' ἐκ μεγάλων πόλις ὄλλυται, εἰς δὲ
μονάρχου¹

δῆμος αἰδρεῖ² δουλοσύνην ἔπεσεν.

5 λίην δ' ἐξάραντ'³ οὐ ῥάδιόν ἐστι κατασχεῖν
ὑστερον, ἀλλ' ἤδη χρὴ <τάδε>⁴ πάντα νοεῖν.

καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τυραννοῦντος (τοῦ Πεισιστράτου) ἔφη

εἰ δὲ πεπόνθατε λυγρὰ⁵ δι' ὑμετέρεην κακότητα,

¹ Diod τυράννου
λίης δ' ἐξέραντα

² Diog αἰδρις ἐὼν
⁴ Passow

³ Schn mss
⁵ so Plut Diog δεινὰ

SOLON

7

Plutarch *Life of Solon* · Wishing to escape the ill-feeling and fault-finding of his fellow-citizens, for, as he says himself,

In great matters it is hard to please all,

he obtained ten years' leave-of-absence of his fellow-countrymen and went abroad

8

Choricus *Declamations* For the land knows how to bear all the offspring of the seasons for its inhabitants, being all of it sloping or low-lying and in Solon's phrase

a shining nurse of youth,

and the sea, etc.—

9, 10

Diodorus of Sicily *Historical Library* ¹ Solon is said to have warned his fellow-countrymen of the coming despotism in elegiac verse ·

The strength of snow and of hail is from a cloud, and thunder cometh of the bright lightning; a city is destroyed of great men, and the common folk fall into bondage unto a despot because of ignorance. For him that putteth out too far from land 'tis not easy to make haven afterward; all such things as these should be thought of ere it be too late.

Later, when Peisistratus' despotism was established, he said :

If ye suffer bitterly through your own fault, blame

¹ cf Diog L 1 2 3, 50, Apost 6 93, Plut *Sol* 3, Diod. Sic 19 1

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

μή τι θεοῖς τούτων μόμφον¹ ἐπαμφέρετε·
 αὐτοὶ γὰρ τούτοις ἠϋξήσατε ῥύματα² δόντες
 καὶ διὰ ταῦτα κακὴν ἔσχετε³ δουλοσύνην·
 5 ὕμῶν δ' εἰς μὲν ἕκαστος ἀλώπεκος ἵχνεσι βαίνει
 σύμπασιν δ' ὑμῖν χαῦνος⁴ ἔνεστι νόος·
 εἰς γὰρ γλῶσσαν ὀράτε καὶ εἰς ἔπος αἰόλου⁵ ἀνδρός,
 εἰς ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν γιγνόμενον βλέπετε.

11

Diog L 1 49 τοῦ δὴ λοιποῦ προσεῖχον αὐτῷ ὁ δῆμος καὶ
 ἡδέως κἂν τυραννεῖσθαι ἤθελον πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ δ' οὐχ εἴλετο, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ Πεισίστρατον τὸν συγγενῇ, καθά φησι Σωσικράτης, προαισθό-
 μενος τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ διεκώλυσεν ἄξας γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ
 δόρατος καὶ ἀσπίδος προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν τοῦ Πεισι-
 στράτου καὶ οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βοηθεῖν ἔτοιμος εἶναι, λέγων
 ταῦτα 'Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν μὲν σοφώτερος, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρειότερός
 εἰμι σοφώτερος μὲν τῶν τὴν ἀπάτην τοῦ Πεισιστράτου μὴ συν-
 ιέντων, ἀνδρειότερος δὲ τῶν ἐπισταμένων μὲν διὰ δέος δὲ σιω-
 πώντων' καὶ ἡ βουλὴ, Πεισιστρατίδαι ὄντες, μαίνεσθαι ἔλεγον
 αὐτόν ὅθεν εἶπε ταυτί

Δείξει δὴ μανίην μὲν ἐμὴν βαιὸς χρόνος ἀστοῖς,
 δείξει, ἀληθείης ἐς μέσον ἐρχομένης.

12

Plut *Vit Sol* 3 ἐν δὲ τοῖς φυσικοῖς ἀπλοῦς ἐστι λίαν· καὶ
 ἀρχαῖος ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τούτων (fr 9 1-2)·

ἐξ ἀνέμων δὲ θάλασσα ταρασσεται· ἣν δέ τις αὐτὴν
 μὴ κινῇ, πάντων ἐστὶν ἀκαισιότατη.⁶

¹ Diod μὴ θεοῖσι ταύτην, Plut μὴ θεοῖσιν τούτων μόμφον
E· mss μοῖραν, Plut μῆνιν (both corrections of μομφήν)

² Steph Diod Plut. ῥύματα, Diod ῥύσια ³ Diod ἵσχετε

⁴ Diod κοῦφος ⁵ Plut Clem ἔπη αἰμύλου ⁶ *E*, from

ἀκᾶ, ἀκῆν, cf δίκη, δίκαιος, and *E M* ἀκῆνιον ἥσυχον, cf
 Polyb 11 29 στάσιμος, Cic *Clu* 49 *tranquillum*, Liv 28 27
 11 *immodulius* mss ἐστὶ δικαιοσύνη

SOLON

ye not the Gods for it; for yourselves have ye exalted these men by giving them guards,¹ and therefore it is that ye enjoy foul servitude. Each one of you walketh with the steps of a fox, the mind of all of you is vain; for ye look to a man's tongue and shift y speech, and never to the deed he doeth.

11 ²

Diogenes Laertius *Life of Solon* Thereafter the people gave him their ears, and would gladly have suffered him even to rule them, but he would not have it, nay, according to Sosicrates, when he got wind of the designs of his kinsman Peisistratus he did all he could to hinder them. For he rushed one day into the assembly armed with spear and shield, warned them of Peisistratus' coming attempt, and even declared his willingness to aid them against him, saying 'Men of Athens, I am wiser than some of you, and braver than others; wiser than those who are fooled by Peisistratus, and braver than those who are not fooled yet hold their tongues because they are afraid.' And the Council, who were Peisistratids, said he was mad, which made him say

The truth will out, and a little time will show my fellow-citizens, sure enough, whether I be mad or no.

12

Plutarch *Life of Solon*: In physical philosophy he is very naïve and old-fashioned; compare 'The strength of snow,' etc (fr 9 ll 1-2) <and thus>.

The sea is stirred by the winds; it if be not stirred 'tis the quietest ³ of all things.

¹ or, reading *πίσται*, pledges ² cf Plut *Sol* 30, Clem Al. *Str* 1. 23. 1, Diod. Exc. Vat. iii p. 24, Cratin. 127 K
³ or, keeping the Greek, justest

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

13

Stob Fl 9 25 [π. δικαιοσύνης]· Σόλωνος·

Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,

Μοῦσαι Πιερίδες, κλυτὲ μοι εὐχομένῳ.

ὄλβον μοι πρὸς θεῶν μακάρων δότε καὶ πρὸς
ἀπάντων

ἀνθρώπων αἰεὶ δόξαν ἔχειν ἀγαθὴν·

5 εἶναι δὲ γλυκὺν ὧδε φίλοις, ἐχθροῖσι δὲ πικρόν,

τοῖσι μὲν αἰδοῖον, τοῖσι δὲ δεινὸν ἰδεῖν.

χρήματα δ' ἰμείρω μὲν ἔχειν, ἀδίκως δὲ πεπᾶσθαι

οὐκ ἐθέλω· πάντως ὕστερον ἦλθε Δίκη·

πλοῦτον δ' ὃν μὲν δῶσι θεοί, παραγίγνεται ἀνδρὶ

10 ἔμπεδος ἐκ νεάτου πυθμένος ἐς κορυφὴν·

ὃν δ' ἄνδρες μετίωσιν¹ ὑφ' ὕβριος, οὐ κατὰ κόσμον

ἔρχεται, ἀλλ' ἀδίκους ἔργμασι πειθόμενος

οὐκ ἐθέλων ἔπεται· ταχέως δ' ἀναμίσγεται ἄτη·²

ἀρχὴ δ' ἐξ ὀλίγου γίγνεται ὥστε πυρός·

15 φλαύρῃ μὲν τὸ πρῶτον, ἀνιερῇ δὲ τελευτᾷ·

οὐ γὰρ δὴν θνητοῖς ὕβριος ἔργα πέλει,

ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς πάντων ἐφορᾷ τέλος, ἐξαπίνης δὲ

ὥστ' ἄνεμος νεφέλας αἰψα διεσκέδασεν

ἡρινός, ὃς πόντου πολυκύμονος ἀτρυγέτοιο

20 πυθμένα κινήσας, γῆν κατὰ πυροφόρον

δηώσας καλὰ ἔργα, θεῶν ἔδος αἰπὺν ἰκάνει

οὐρανόν, αἰθρίην δ' αὖτις ἔθηκεν ἰδεῖν,

λάμπει δ' ἡελίοιο μένος κατὰ πῖονα γαῖαν

καλόν, ἀτὰρ νεφέων οὐδὲν ἔτ' ἔστιν ἰδεῖν·

25 τοιαύτῃ Ζηνὸς πέλεται τίσις, οὐδ' ἐφ' ἐκάστω,

ὥσπερ θνητὸς ἀνὴρ, γίγνεται ὀξύχολος·

SOLON

13¹

Stobaeus *Anthology* [on righteousness] Solon —

Splendid children of Memory and Olympian Zeus, give ear, Pierian Muses, unto my prayer. Grant me prosperity at the hands of the Blessed Gods, and good fame ever at the hands of men; make me, I pray You, sweet to my friends and sour unto my foes, to these a man reverend to behold, to those a man terrible. Wealth I desire to possess, but would not have it unrighteously,² retribution cometh alway afterward; the riches that be given of the Gods come to a man for to last, from the bottom even to the top, whereas they which be sought by wanton violence come not orderly, but persuaded against their will by unrighteous works—and quickly is Ruin mingled with them; whose beginning is with a little thing as of fire, slight at the first, but in the end a mischief; for the works of man's wanton violence endure not for long, but Zeus surveyeth the end of every matter, and suddenly, even as the clouds in Spring are quickly scattered by a wind that stirreth the depths of the billowy unharvested sea, layeth waste the fair fields o'er the wheat-bearing land, and reaching even to the high heaven where the Gods sit, maketh the sky clear again to view, till the strength of the Sun shineth fair over the fat land, and no cloud is to be seen any more,—even such is the vengeance of Zeus; He is not quick to wrath, like us, over each

¹ cf. Clem Al *Str* 6. 742 (ὥδε ἀρχεται), Crates 1 (vol 11)
² Plut. *Sol* 2, *Sol et Popl.* 1, *Popl* 24 7

¹ Ahr mss τιμῶσιν

² mss also ἄτη

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

αἰεὶ δ' οὐ¹ ἐλέληθε διαμπερές, ὅστις ἀλιτρὸν
 θυμὸν ἔχῃ,² πάντως δ' ἐς τέλος ἐξεφάνη·
 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν αὐτίκ' ἔτεισεν, ὁ δ' ὕστερον· οἱ³ δὲ
 φύγωσιν

30 αὐτοὶ μὴδὲ θεῶν μοῖρ' ἐπιούσα κίχῃ,
 ἤλυθε πάντως αὐτίς·⁴ ἀναίτιοι ἔργα τίνουσιν
 ἢ παῖδες τούτων ἢ γένος ἐξοπίσω.⁵
 θνητοὶ δ' ὧδε νοεῦμεν ὁμῶς ἀγαθὸς τε κακὸς τε·
 ἢ δὴν ἢ ταύτην⁶ δόξαν ἕκαστος ἔχει
 35 πρὶν τι παθεῖν· τότε δ' αὐτίκ'⁷ ὁδύρεται· ἄχρι δὲ
 τούτου

χάσκοντες κούφαις ἐλπίσι τερπόμεθα,
 ᾧστίς μὲν νούσοισιν ὑπ' ἀργαλέῃσι πιεσθῇ,
 ὡς ὑγιῆς ἔσται, τοῦτο κατεφράσατο·
 ἄλλος δειλὸς ἐὼν ἀγαθὸς δοκεῖ ἔμμεναι ἀνὴρ,
 40 καὶ καλὸς, μορφὴν οὐ χαρίεσσαν ἔχων·
 εἰ δέ τις ἀχρήμων, πενίης δέ μιν ἔργα βιάται
 κτήσεσθαι⁸ πάντως⁹ χρήματα πολλὰ δοκεῖ.
 σπεύδει δ' ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος· ὁ μὲν κατὰ πόντον
 ἀλᾶται

ἐν νηυσὶν χρήζων οἴκαδε κέρδος ἄγειν
 45 ἰχθυόεντ',¹⁰ ἀνέμοισι φορεύμενος ἀργαλέοισι
 φειδωλὴν ψυχῆς οὐδεμίαν θέμενος·
 ἄλλος γῆν τέμνων πολυδένδρεον εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν
 λατρεύει, τοῖσιν καμπύλ' ἄροτρα μέλει¹¹
 ἄλλος Ἀθηναίης τε καὶ Ἡφαίστου πολυτέχνεω
 50 ἔργα δαεὶς χειροῖν ξυλλέγεται βίοτον·

¹ Herm mss οὔτε (from ΟΥΤΕ or ΟΥΤΗ ?) ² B: mss ἔχει
³ mss also ἦν ⁴ Brunck mss αὐτίκ' ⁵ most mss ἡγεμόνων

SOLON

and every thing, yet of him that hath a wicked heart is He aware alway unceasing, and such an one surely cometh out plain at the last Aye, one payeth to-day, another to-morrow; and those who themselves flee and escape the pursuing destiny of Heaven, to them vengeance cometh alway again, for the price of their deeds is paid by their innocent children or else by their seed after them.

We mortal men, alike good and bad, are minded thus:—each of us keepeth the opinion he hath ever had¹ till he suffer ill, and then forthwith he grieveth; albeit ere that, we rejoyce open-mouthed in vain expectations, and whosoever be oppressed with sore disease bethinketh himself he will be whole; another that is a coward thinketh he be a brave man, or he that hath no comeliness seemeth to himself goodly to look upon; and if one be needy, and constrained by the works of Penury, he reckoneth alway to win much wealth Each hath his own quest; one, for to bring home gain, rangeth the fishy deep a-shipboard, tossed by grievous winds, sparing his life no whit, another serveth them whose business lieth with the curvèd ploughshare, ploughing the well-planted land for them throughout the year²; one getteth his living by the skill of his hands in the works of Athena and the master of many crafts, Hephaestus,

¹ reading doubtful

² or every year?

ὁπίσω ⁶ *E* mss ἐνδῆην (corr to ἐν δῆν ἦν), ἐκ δῆν ἦν, ἐν δῆν ἦν, and αὐτὸς ⁷ Bamib. mss αὐθις, αὐτῆς ⁸ *B*. mss - σασθαι ⁹ Gesn mss - των ¹⁰ objections to this as a 'weak overlap' are due to a misconception of the principles of Greek word-order pointed out long ago by Headlam ¹¹ most mss μένει

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

- ἄλλος Ὀλυμπιάδων Μουσέων¹ πάρα δῶρα
 διδαχθεῖς,
 52 ἱμερτῆς σοφίης μέτρον ἐπιστάμενος²
 57 ἄλλοι Παιῶνος πολυφαρμάκου ἔργον ἔχοντες
 ἱητροί· καὶ τοῖς οὐδὲν ἔπεστι τέλος·
 πολλάκι δ' ἐξ ὀλίγης ὀδύνης μέγα γίγνεται ἄλγος,
 κούκ ἄν τις λύσαιτ' ἥπια φάρμακα δούς,
 τὸν δὲ κακαῖς νούσοισι κυκώμενον ἀργαλείαις τε³
 62 ἀψάμενος χειροῖν αἶψα τίθησ' ὑγιή·
 53 ἄλλον μάντιν ἔθηκεν ἄναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων,
 ἔγνω δ' ἀνδρὶ κακὸν τηλόθεν ἐρχόμενον,
 ᾧ συνομαρτήσωσι θεοί· τὰ δὲ μόρσιμα πάντως
 56 οὔτε τις οἰωνὸς ῥύσεται οὔθ' ἱερά.
 63 Μοῖρα δέ τοι θνητοῖσι κακὸν φέρει ἡδὲ καὶ
 ἐσθλόν,
 δῶρα δ' ἄφυκτα θεῶν γίγνεται ἀθανάτων·
 65 πᾶσι δέ τοι κίνδυνος ἐπ' ἔργμασιν, οὐδέ τις οἶδεν
 ἧ μέλλει σχήσειν χρήματος⁴ ἀρχομένον,
 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν εὖ ἔρδειν⁵ πειρώμενος οὐ προνοήσας
 ἐς μεγάλην ἄτην καὶ χαλεπὴν ἔπεισεν,
 τῷ δὲ κακῶς⁶ ἔρδοντι θεὸς περὶ πάντα δίδωσι⁷
 70 συντυχήην ἀγαθήν, ἔκλυσιν ἀφροσύνης.
 πλούτου δ' οὐδὲν τέρμα πεφασμένον ἀνδράσι
 κεῖται⁸
 οἱ γὰρ νῦν ἡμέων πλείστον ἔχουσι βίον,
 διπλασίως⁹ σπεύδουσι· τίς ἄν κορέσειεν
 ἅπαντας,¹⁰
 κέρδεά τοι θνητοῖς ὥπασαν ἀθάνατοι.¹¹

¹ Brunck · mss Μουσάων ² 53-6 transp. *E* with 57-62, making ἔχοντες (57), like διδαχθεῖς (51), dependent on ξυλλέγεται βίοτον (50) ³ Wil κακῶς and ἀργαλέησι ⁴ Theogn. πῇ σχήσειν μέλλει πρήγματος ⁵ Theogn εὐδοκιμεῖν ⁶ mss

SOLON

another through his learning in the gifts of the Olympian Muses, cunning in the measure of lovely art; others again as physicians, having the task of the Master of Medicines, the Healer—for these men too there's no end of their labours, for often cometh great pain of little and a man cannot assuage it by soothing medicines, albeit at other times him that is confounded by evil and grievous maladies maketh he quickly whole by the laying on of hands; another again the Far-Shooting Lord Apollo maketh a seer, and the mischief that cometh on a man from afar is known to him that hath the Gods with him, for no augury nor offering will ever ward off what is destined to be.

Aye, surely Fate it is that bringeth mankind both good and ill, and the gifts immortal Gods offer must needs be accepted; surely too there's danger in every sort of business ¹; nor know we at the beginning of a matter how it is to end ²; nay, sometimes he that striveth to do a good thing falleth unawares into run great and sore, whereas God giveth good hap in all things to one that doeth ill, to be his deliverance from folly. And as for wealth, there's no end set clearly down ³; for such as have to-day the greatest riches among us, these have twice the eagerness that others have, and who can satisfy all? ⁴ 'Tis sure the Gods give us men possessions, yet a

¹ of Theogn 585, Stob *Fl.* 111 16 ² or where we shall come to shore ³ cf. Theogn 227, Arist *Pol* 1256 b 83, Plut. *Div Cup* 4, Basil *Leg Gent* 8 p 183 ⁴ or, emending the *Gl.* satisfy the insatiable

καλῶς (so Theogn.), one corr to κακῶς ⁷ Theogn ποιεῦντι θεὸς περὶ (ap Stob. καλὰ) π τίθησιν ⁸ Theogn Plut. ἀνθρώποισι. ⁹ Theogn. -σιον ¹⁰ Herm ἀπλήστους, but cf 4. 14n ¹¹ Theogn χρήματά τοι θν γίνεται ἀφροσύνη

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

15 ἄτη δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν¹ ἀναφαίνεται, ἣν ὁπότε² Ζεὺς
πέμψῃ τεισομένην,³ ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἔχει.

14

Stob. Fl 98 24 [π. τοῦ βίου ὅτι βραχὺς καὶ εὐτελής καὶ
φροντίδων ἀνάμεστος] Σόλωνος

οὐδὲ μάκαρ⁴ οὐδείς πέλεται βροτός, ἀλλὰ πονηροὶ⁵
πάντες ὅσους θνητοὺς ἡέλιος καθορᾷ.

15

Plut Vit. Sol 3 ὅτι δ' αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ τῶν πενήτων μερίδι μᾶλλον
ἢ τῇ τῶν πλουσίων ἔταττε δῆλόν ἐστιν ἐκ τούτων

πολλοὶ γὰρ⁶ πλουτοῦσι κακοί, ἀγαθοὶ δὲ πένονται·
ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς τούτοις⁷ οὐ διαμειψόμεθα
τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν πλοῦτον, ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν ἔμπεδον αἰεὶ,
χρήματα δ' ἀνθρώπων ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἔχει.

16

Clem Al Str 5 81 1 σοφώτατα τοίνυν γέγραπται τῷ Σόλωνι
ταῦτα περὶ θεοῦ·

γνωμοσύνης δ' ἀφανὲς χαλεπώτατόν ἐστι νοῆσαι
μέτρον, ὃ δὴ πάντων πείρατα μοῦνον ἔχει.

17

Ibid 129 6 εἰκότως ἔρα Σόλων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν ταῖς Ἑλεγκείαις
καὶ αὐτὸς κατακολουθήσας Ἡσίοδῳ (fr 177)·

πάντῃ⁸ δ' ἀθανάτων ἀφανὲς νόος ἀνθρώποισιν·
γράφει

¹ Theogn. -τῆς ² so Theogn. mss ὁπότεν ³ Theogn.
τειρομένοις ⁴ Steph μάκαρς (cf. Alcibiades 29 L G 1), but cf.
Diph 4 416 M ⁵ Grot πόνηροι, but cf. Hdn ap Eust 341. 14
⁶ Theogn. τοι, Stob om ⁷ so Theogn. Stob : mss αὐτοῖς
⁸ Euseb πάμπαν

SOLON

ruin is revealed thereout, which one man hath now and another then, whensoever Zeus sendeth it in retribution.

14

Stobaeus *Anthology* [that life is short, of little account, and full of cares] · Solon —

Nor is any mortal happy, but all men are unfortunate that the Sun can see.¹

15 ²

Plutarch *Life of Solon* That he reckoned himself among the poor rather than the rich, is shown by these lines.

Many bad men are rich, many good men poor; but we, we will not exchange virtue for wealth, for the one endureth whereas the other belongeth now to this man and now to that.

16 ³

Clement of Alexandria *Miscellanies* · Now Solon has well said of God

'Tis very hard to tell the unseen measure of sound judgment, which yet alone hath the ends of all things.⁴

17 ⁵

The Same Well may Solon the Athenian say, after Hesiod, in his *Elegies*

The mind of the Immortals is all unseen to man.

¹ or looks down upon ² cf. Theogn. 315, Stob *Fl* 1 4, Plut *Tranq An* 13, *Prof. Virt* 6, *Cap ex Inim.* 11, Basil *Gent* 4. 177, Theodul *Reg Off* 146, Arist *Eth Nic* 1179 a 9
³ cf Theodoret 1 14 ⁴ cf Mimn. 2 6 n ⁵ cf. Euseb. *Praer Ev* 13 688 c

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

181

[Plat.] *Amat* 133c Σόλων γάρ που εἶπε

γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος.¹

19 πρὸς Φιλόκυπρον

Hdt 5 113 . . . ὁ Σολίων βασιλεὺς Ἀριστόκυπρος ὁ Φιλοκύπρου· Φιλοκύπρου δὲ τούτου, τὸν Σόλων δ' Ἀθηναῖος ἀπικομένος ἐς Κύπρον ἐν ἔπεσι αἶνεσε τυράννων μάλιστα.

Plut. *Vit. Sol* 26 ἔπειτα πλεύσας εἰς Κύπρον ἡγαπήθη διαφέροντως ὑπὸ Φιλοκύπρου τινὸς τῶν ἐκεῖ βασιλέων . . . ἔπεισεν οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Σόλων ὑποκειμένου καλοῦ πεδίου μεταθέντα τὴν πόλιν ἡδίοινα καὶ μείζονα κατασκευάσαι καὶ παρὼν ἐπεμελήθη τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ καὶ διεκόσμησε πρὸς τε διαγωγὴν ἄριστα καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν, ὥστε πολλοὺς μὲν οἰκῆτορας τῷ Φιλοκύπρῳ προσελθεῖν, ζηλῶσαι δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους βασιλεῖς. διὸ καὶ τῷ Σόλωνι τιμὴν ἀποδιδούς Αἰπεῖαν τὴν πόλιν καλουμένην πρότερον ἀπ' ἐκείνου Σόλους προσηγόρευσε. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ μέμνηται τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ προσαγορεύσας γὰρ ἐν ταῖς Ἑλεγεῖαις τὸν Φιλόκυπρον 'νῦν δέ,' φησί, κτλ

νῦν δὲ σὺ μὲν Σολίοισι πολὺν χρόνον ἐνθάδ' ἀνάσσω

τῇνδε πόλιν ναίοις καὶ γένος ὑμέτερον·
αὐτὰρ ἐμὲ ξὺν νηὶ θοῇ κλεινῆς ἀπὸ νήσου
ἀσκηθῇ πέμποι Κύπρις ἰοστέφανος,
5 οἰκισμῷ δ' ἐπὶ τῷδε χάριν καὶ κύδος ὀπάζοι
ἐσθλὸν καὶ νόστον πατρίδ' ἐς ἡμετέρεην.

20-21 πρὸς Μίμνερμον

Diog. L 1 60 φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ Μιμνέρμου γράψαντος (Mimn. fr. 11) ἐπιτιμῶντα αὐτοῦ εἰπεῖν

¹ Sch. παροιμία . . . εἴλκυσται μέντοι ἐκ τῶν Σόλωνος Ἑλεγεῖων (Sch. Plat. *Rep* αἰεὶ γηράσκω)

¹ cf Plat. *Lach.* 188b, 189a, *Rep.* 536b, Plut *Sol.* 2 and 31, Sch. Soph *Ant* 711, Ioan. Sic *Rh.* *G* 1 6 201 W, Zen 3. 4, Diogen 3 80, Ars 161, Apost 5 40, *Paroem* Gotting 11.

SOLON

18¹

[Plato] *Lovers* • Compare Solon :—

But as I grow old I learn many things.

19² To PHILOCYPRUS

Herodotus *Histories* : . . the king of the Solians, Aristocyprus the son of Philocyprus This is the Philocyprus whom Solon the Athenian on his visit to Cyprus praised in verse above all other despots

Plutarch *Life of Solon* • Then (after visiting Egypt) he went to Cyprus, where he made great friends with a king of those parts called Philocyprus. . . So Solon persuaded him, by changing its site to a fair plain that lay beneath it, to make the city greater and more pleasant to live in And he stayed there and took charge of the gathering of the people into the city, and helped him to arrange it in the best way for the convenience and safety of its inhabitants, insomuch that settlers flocked to him, and the other kings came to envy him. For this he paid Solon the honour of changing the city's name from Aepeia to Soli, after him Solon himself mentions the gathering together of the people, addressing Philocyprus in his *Elegies* thus :

But as it is, I pray that you and yours may long dwell in this city as lords of the Solians, that I may be sped unharmed a-shipboard from this famous isle by Cypris of the Violet Crown, and that the same may grant me favour and good fame after this sojourn, and safe return unto my native land.

20-21 To MIMNERMUS³

Diogenes Laertius *Life of Solon* It is said that when Mimnermus wrote (Mimn fr 11) that he hoped he might die at the age of sixty, he found fault with him, saying

107, Suid γηπάραι, Dio Chrys *Or.* 18 int, Tatian 35, Cic. *Sen* 8, Val Max 8 7 14 ² cf *Vit Arat.* 53 W (gives name as Κυπρίωνος) and Lobel on *O P* 4 680 *Bodl Quart* 4 96 ³ cf Liban i 403 (20), Stob 121 3, Plut. *Sol et Popl* 1, *Popl* 24 5 (21)

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

Ἄλλ' εἴ μοι καὶ¹ νῦν ἔτι πείσεαι, ἔξελε τοῦτο,
 μηδὲ μέγαιρ' ὅτι σεῦ λῶον ἐπεφρασάμην,²
 καὶ μεταποιήσων, Λιγυαστάδης,³ ὧδε δ' ᾄειδε·
 'Ὀγδωκονταέτη μοῖρα κίχιοι θανάτου.'

21

Plut *Sol. et Popl.* 1. 4 ἔτι τοίνυν οἷς πρὸς Μίμνερμον ἀντει-
 πῶν περὶ χρόνου ζωῆς ἐπιπεφώνηκε

μηδέ μοι ἄκλαυστος θάνατος μόλοι, ἀλλὰ φίλοισι
 καλλείποιμι⁴ θανὼν ἄλγεα καὶ στοναχάς·

εὐδαίμονα τὸν Ποπλικόλαν ἄνδρα ποιεῖ. τελευτήσας γὰρ οὐ φίλοις
 οὐδ' οἰκείοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ τῇ πόλει πάσῃ, μυριάσι πολλαῖς, δάκρυα
 καὶ πόθον καὶ κατήφειαν ἐφ' αὐτῷ παρέσχευ

22 πρὸς Κριτίαν

Plat *Tim.* 20 e [π Σόλωνος] ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ ἦν μὲν οὖν οἰκείος
 ἡμῖν καὶ σφόδρα φίλος Δρωπίδου τοῦ προπάππου, καθάπερ λέγει
 πολλαχοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ ποιήσῃ

Procl. *ad loc.* ἡ μὲν ἱστορία ἢ κατὰ τὸ Σόλωνος γένος καὶ τὴν
 Πλάτωνος πρὸς αὐτὸν συγγένειαν τοιαύτη τίς ἐστίν 'Εξηκεστίδου
 παῖδες ἐγένοντο Σόλων καὶ Δρωπίδης, κα' Δρωπίδου μὲν Κριτίας,
 οὗ μνημονεύει καὶ Σόλων ἐν τῇ ποιήσῃ λέγων

Εἰπέμεναι Κριτίῃ ξανθότριχι⁵ πατρὸς ἀκούειν·
 οὐ γὰρ ἁμαρτινώφ πείσεται ἡγεμόνι.

23

Plat *Lys* 212 d οὐδ' ἄρα φίλιπποι εἰσιν οὓς ἂν οἱ ἵπποι μὴ ἀντι-
 φιλῶσιν, οὐδὲ φιλόρτυγες, οὐδ' αὖ φιλόκυνές γε καὶ φίλοινοι καὶ
 φιλογυμνασταὶ καὶ φιλόσοφοι, ἂν μὴ ἡ σοφία αὐτοὺς ἀντιφιλήῃ ἢ

¹ Thiersch mss καὶ ² B from Suid. mss τοῖον for
 λῶον ³ B mss ναιγιασταδῆ, ἀγ(αιγ-)ιασταδι ⁴ so
 Stob: Plut ποιήσαιμι ⁵ Arist. εἰπεῖν μοι and πυρρότριχι

SOLON

But if thou wilt listen to me so late in the day, blot this out, Ligystades, and bearing me no ill-will because I give thee better counsel, change thy song, and sing that thou art fain the fate of Death might overtake thee at fourscore.

21

Plutarch *Lives of Solon and Publicola* Furthermore, by the envoy of the answer he made Mimnermus about length of days,

Nor may death come to me without a tear; rather would I have my decease make sorrow and lamentation for my friends,

he argues Publicola a happy man. For his death filled, not only his friends and kinsfolk, but a whole city of tens of thousands, with tears and regret and downcast looks

22¹ To CRITIAS

Plato *Timaeus* [on Solon] CRITIAS —Now he was connected with my family and a great friend of Dropides my great-grandfather, as he often says in his poetry.

Proclus *on the passage* The history of Solon's descendants and Plato's connexion with him is this Solon and Dropides were the sons of Execestides, and Dropides was the father of Critias, who is mentioned by Solon in his poetry thus ·

Tell flaxen-haired Critias to listen to his father; for if so, he will have a guide of no erring judgment.

23²

Plato *Lysis* People then are not lovers of horses, it would seem, unless their horses love them in return, nor in like manner of quails nor yet of dogs, nor of wine, nor of gymnastics, nor of wisdom, unless wisdom loves them in return,

¹ cf Arist *Rh* 1375 b 32, Plat *Tim.* 20 e, *Charm* 157 e, Poll 2 1, Procl in *Tim* 1 82 2 D ² cf Hermias ad Plat *Phaedr* 231 e p 178 A (Σόλων), Luc. *Am* 48, Theogn 1253

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

φιλοῦσι μὲν ταῦτα ἕκαστοι, οὐ μέντοι φίλα ὄντα, ἀλλὰ ψεύδεθ' ὁ ποιητής, ὃς ἔφη

“Ολβιος ᾧ παῖδές τε φίλοι ¹ καὶ μώνυχες ἵπποι
καὶ κύνες ἀγρευταὶ καὶ ξένος ἀλλοδαπός.”²

24

Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 2 πλοῦτον δ' οὐκ ἐθαύμαζεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φησιν ὁμοίως πλουτεῖν ᾧ τε πολὺς ἄργυρος κτλ.

“Ἰσόν τοι πλουτοῦσιν ὄτῳ ³ πολὺς ἄργυρός ἐστι
καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ γῆς πυροφόρου πεδία
ἵπποι θ' ἡμίονοί τε, καὶ ᾧ μόνα ⁴ ταῦτα πάρεστι,
γαστρί τε καὶ πλευρῇς ⁵ καὶ ποσὶν ἀβρὰ παθεῖν.”⁶
ταῦτ' ἄφενος θνητοῖσι· τὰ γὰρ περιώσια πάντα
⁶ χρήματ' ἔχων οὐδεὶς ἔρχεται εἰς Ἀΐδew·
οὐδ' ἂν ἄποινα διδούς θάνατον φύγοι οὐδὲ βαρείας
νούσους οὐδὲ κακὸν γῆρας ἐπερχόμενον.

25, 26

Plut. *Amat. Lib.* 5 ἔτι δὲ πλείονα λέγειν προθυμουμένου τοῦ Πρωτογένους ἀντικρούσας ὁ Δαφναῖος ‘Εὖ γε νῆ Δία’ ἔφη ‘τοῦ Σόλωνος ἐμνήσθης καὶ χρηστέον αὐτῷ γνώμονι τοῦ ἐρωτικοῦ ἀνδρός

“Εσθ' ἥβης ἐρατοῖσιν ἐπ' ἀνθεσι παιδοφιλήσῃ
μηρῶν ἰμείρων ⁷ καὶ γλυκεροῦ στόματος”

¹ Luc νέοι (a wilful perversion, as the plural shows)

² Theogn *θηρευταὶ τε κύνες καὶ ξένοι ἀλλοδαποί* ³ these 5 words not in Plut.

⁴ Theogn *τὰ δέοντα*, Stob. *τάδε πάντα* ⁵ Plut. -ρῇ, Theogn. -ραῖς ⁶ mss insert *in*

mal part. *παιδός τ' ἡδὲ γυναικός*, ἐπὴν καὶ (B κατὰ) ταῦτ' ἀφίκεται | ἥβῃ (or ἥβης)· σὺν δ' ὥρῃ γίνεται ἁρμονία (B ἁρμόδια Theogn. -δια, -διον, -διος, Stob. -δια, -νία: Theogn. ὥρῃ σὺν δ' ἥβῃ

⁷ Plut. om.

SOLON

or does each sort love each of these without the object of their friendship being their friend, thus proving the poet wrong who says

Happy he who hath dear children,¹ whole-hoovèd ² steeds, hunting hounds, and a friend in foreign parts.

24 ³

Plutarch *Life of Solon*: He had no admiration for wealth; indeed he declares

Surely equal is the wealth of him that hath much silver and gold and fields of wheatland and horses and mules, to that of him that hath but this—comfort in belly and sides and feet ⁴ This is abundance unto men, seeing that no man taketh with him the many things he hath above this when he goeth below, nor shall he for a price escape death nor yet sore disease nor the evil approach of Age.

25, 26

The Same *Amatorius* Protogenes was willing and eager to say still more, but Daphnaeus stopped him, exclaiming 'I am very glad you mentioned Solon; he shall be our criterion of the "erotic" man' ⁵.

till in the flower of youth he love a lad with the desire of thighs and sweet lips;

¹ Plato, for his own purposes, understands the Gk. as 'he to whom children are dear (or are friends)' ² a 'stock-' epithet of horses, distinguishing them from animals whose hoof is cloven ³ cf Theogn 719, Stob. Fl 97 7 ⁴ i.e. food, clothes, and shoes; the couplet which follows, 'of lad or lass, and when the time for these things hath come and youth is accordant (or of lad and lass, and when youth hath come thus far, and with the right age they are fitting pleasures),' is a certain though early addition ⁵ cf. Plut. *Sol.* 31, *Sept Sap* 13

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

ὄθεν οἶμαι καὶ ὁ Σόλων ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἔγραψε νέος ὧν ἔτι καὶ σπέρματος πολλοῦ μεστός, ὥς καὶ ὁ Πλάτων φησί (*Legg.* 8 839 b), ταυτὶ δὲ πρεσβύτης γενόμενος·

ἔργα δὲ Κυπρογενοῦς νῦν μοι φίλα καὶ Διονύσου
καὶ Μουσέων, ἃ τίθης' ἀνδράσιν εὐφροσύνας·

ὥσπερ ἐκ ζάλης καὶ χε μῶνος τῶν παιδικῶν ἐρώτων ἔν τινι γαλήνῃ
τῇ περὶ γάμον καὶ φιλοσοφίαν θέμενος τὸν βίον·

27

Philo Or Mund. 24 τὰς ἡλικίας ταύτας ἀνέγραψε καὶ Σόλων
ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων νομοθέτης ἐλεγεία ποιήσας τάδε

Παῖς μὲν ἄνηβος ἔων ἔτι νήπιος ἔρκος ὀδόντων
φύσας ἐκβάλλει πρῶτον ἐν ἔπτ' ἔτεσιν·

τοὺς δ' ἐτέρους ὅτε δὴ τελέσῃ θεὸς ἔπτ' ἐνιαυτοὺς

5 ἥβης ἐκφαίνει σήματα¹ γιγνομένης·

τῇ τριτάτῃ δὲ γένειον ἀεζομένων ἔτι² γυῖων

λαχνοῦνται χροίης ἄνθος ἀμειβομένης,

τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ πᾶς τις ἐν ἐβδομάδων μέγ'³ ἄριστος

ἰσχύν, ἣν⁴ τ' ἄνδρες σήματ' ἔχουσ' ἀρετῆς·

πέμπτῃ δ' ὥριον ἄνδρα γάμου μεμνημένον εἶναι

10 καὶ παίδων ζητεῖν εἰσοπίσω⁵ γενεήν·

τῇ δ' ἕκτῃ περὶ πάντα καταρτύεται νόος ἀνδρός,

οὐδ' ἔρδειν ἔθ' ὁμῶς ἔργ' ἀπάλαμνα⁶ θέλει·

ἐπτα δὲ νοῦν καὶ γλῶσσαν ἐν ἐβδομάσιν μέγ'

ἄριστος

ὀκτώ τ', ἀμφοτέρων τέσσαρα καὶ δέκ' ἔτη·

15 τῇ δ' ἐνάτῃ ἔτι μὲν δύνатаι, μαλακώτερα⁷ δ' αὐτοῦ

πρὸς μεγάλην ἀρετὴν γλῶσσά τε καὶ σοφίη⁸.

¹ Clem σπέρματα ² Emp: mss ἐπὶ ³ E most citations ἐβδομάδεσσιν, Clem ἐβδομάδι μέγ', some mss of Ap. -μάσιν μέγ' (from below?) ⁴ Clem. ἦν, Philo ἦ (ῆ) or οἶ, A P. Ap. ἦ

⁵ so Clem others ἐξοπ ⁶ Clem ἐσιδεῖν

ἔθ' ὁμοίως ἔργα ματαῖα

⁷ Clem μετριώτ

⁸ Clem.

σῶμά τε καὶ δύναμις

SOLON

And that surely is why Solon wrote what I have just quoted when he was full of youth and vigour, as Plato says, and when he was old the following lines

Dear to me now are the works of the Cyprus-born
and of Dionysus and of the Muses, works which make
good cheer for man,

as though after the storm and stress of less worthy loves he
had found haven for his life in a calm of marriage and
philosophy.¹

27²

Philo Creation of the World · These Ages of Life are given
by Solon the Athenian lawgiver in the following elegiac lines

In seven years the half-grown boy casteth the first
teeth he cut as a child ; when God hath accomplished
him seven years more he showeth signs that his youth-
ful prime is nigh ; in the third seven, when his limbs
are still a-waxing, his chin groweth downy with the
bloom of changing skin ; in the fourth every man is at
his best in the strength which men bear for a token
of virtue and valour³ ; in the fifth 'tis time for a man
to bethink him of marriage and to seek offspring to
come after him, in the sixth a man's mind is trained in
all things, and he wisheth not so much now for what
may not be done ; in seven sevens and in eight he is
at his best in mind and tongue, to wit fourteen years
of both ; in the ninth age he is still an able man,
but his tongue and his lore have less might unto

¹ cf *Vol Herc Coll Alt* 11 62 ² cf *Clem Al Str* 6 814,
5 714, *Ambros Ep* 6. 39, *Cram A P.* 1 46, *Apost.* 14. 94,
Cens Nat 14, *Macr Somn. Scip* 1 6, *Arist Pol* 1335 b. 32,
1336 b 40, *HA* 581 a 13, *Rh* 1390 b 4, *Diog L* 1 54
³ one word in the Gk, it is less moral than virtue, and in-
cludes both courage and such ideas as prowess, excellence,
and manliness, it is the noun of *ἀγαθός*, which means 'good
at' as well as 'good'

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

τῆς δεκάτης δ' εἴ τις τελέσας κατὰ μέτρον ἵκοιτο,¹
οὐκ ἂν ἄωρος ἐὼν μοῖραν ἔχοι θανάτου.

28 a, c, b

Arist. Ἀθ Πολ 5 τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς τάξεως οὔσης ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τῶν πολλῶν δουλευόντων τοῖς ὀλίγοις, ἀντέστη τοῖς γνωρίμοις ὁ δῆμος. ἰσχυρὰς δὲ τῆς στάσεως οὔσης καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀντικαθημένων ἀλλήλοις, εἴλοντο κοινῇ διαλλακτὴν καὶ ἔρχοντα Σόλωνα, καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτῷ ποιήσαντι τὴν ἐλεγείαν ἧς ἐστὶν ἀρχή

Γιγνώσκω καὶ μοι φρενὸς ἔνδοθεν ἄλγεα κεῖται
πρεσβυτάτην ἐσορῶν γαῖαν Ἰαονίας
καινομένην.²

ἐν ᾗ πρὸς ἐκατέρους ὑπὲρ ἐκατέρων μάχεται καὶ διαμφισβητεῖ, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κοινῇ παραινεῖ καταπαύειν τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν φιλονικίαν. ἦν δ' ὁ Σόλων τῇ μὲν φύσει καὶ τῇ δόξῃ τῶν πρώτων, τῇ δ' οὐσίᾳ καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι τῶν μέσων, ὥς ἔκ τε τῶν ἄλλων ὁμολογεῖται καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς ποιήμασιν μαρτυρεῖ, παραινῶν τοῖς πλουσίοις μὴ πλεονεκτεῖν

ὤμεις δ' ἡσυχάσαντες ἐνὶ φρεσὶ καρτερὸν ἦτορ,
οὐ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐς κόρον ἠλάσατε,
ἐν μέτροισι³ τίθεσθε μέγαν νόον· οὔτε γὰρ ἡμεῖς
πεισόμεθ', οὔθ' ὑμῖν ἄρτια τᾶ[σ]τ'⁴ ἔσεται.

¹ Hart most miss τῇ δεκάτῃ· Clem τῇ δεκάτῃ δ' ὅτε δὴ τελέσῃ (mss -σει) θεὸς ἔπτ' ἐνιαυτοὺς from above ² so Pap (not κλι· E); or read καινομένην, cf Lys. 33 7' (Kaern)
³ Kaib-Wil (for metrical reasons, cf 4. 14) P μετροῖσι; for τίθεσθε perh read τέμεσθε, met from cutting out cloth for a garment (ἐν μ 'to measure') E ⁴ τα certain for τ' cf. τότ' ἐφράσ col. 11 l 19 (ταῦτ', allowing for slight mismounting, is also just possible, but not τᾶλλ') E

SOLON

great virtue¹; and if a man come to the full measure of the tenth, he will not meet the fate of Death untimely.

28 a, c, b

Aristotle *Constitution of Athens*. When such was the condition of the body politic and the many were slaves of the few, the commons rose against the men of note. The struggle was bitter and the mutual opposition long, but finally they agreed upon an arbitrator and ruler in the person of Solon, putting the reins of government into his hands on his composing the *Elegy* which begins:

I know, and pain lieth in my heart as I see it, that the oldest land of Ionia is being slain.²

In this poem he champions either party alternately and then exhorts both together to make up their quarrel. Now Solon belonged to the highest rank in character and reputation, and to the middle sort in estate and business, as is agreed on other grounds and as he himself attests in these lines, wherein he exhorts the rich not to be covetous:

But do ye who have had more than your fill of many good things, calm the strong heart that is in your breast, and be moderate in your aspirations³, and so neither shall we be needy⁴ nor ye possess what ye now have without decrease;

¹ See note 3, p 141 ² or, *emending the Greek*, burning (i.e. in a fever), the land is Attica ³ *hē* make your mind great within limits, cf. Hes. *Op.* 692, Pind. *I.* 6 103, or *emending the Greek* cut yourselves a great mind to measure? ⁴ *πέποιμαι* future of *πέποιμαι* (not found elsewhere, but necessary to the sense of citation and context, without an objt *πάσχω* cannot = suffer ill, nor is there any question of obedience even if we could supply the dative) *E*

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

καὶ ὅλως αἰεὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς στάσεως ἀνάπτει τοῖς πλουσίοις διδ
καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἐλεγείας δεδοικέναι φησί

τὴν τε φι[λ]ο[χ]ρεῖαν¹ τὴν θ' ὑπερηφανίαν·
ὥς διὰ ταῦτα τῆς ἐχθρας ἐνεστώσης

29

[Plat.] π δικαίου 374a εἶ ἡ παροιμία ἔχει ὅτι

πολλὰ ψεύδονται αἰοδοί·

Sch. *ad loc.* ἐπὶ τῶν κέρδους ἕνεκα καὶ ψυχαγωγίας ψευδῇ
λεγόντων . . ἐμνήσθη ταύτης (τῆς παροιμίας) . Σόλων
Ἐλεγείαις.

30

Plut *Vit Sol.* 26 πρῶτον μὲν οὖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀφίκετο καὶ
διέτριψεν, ὥς αὐτός φησι

Νείλου ἐπὶ προχοῇσι Κανωβίδος ἐγγύθεν ἀκτῆς·

χρόνον δέ τινα καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ψένωπιν τὸν Ἡλιοπολίτην καὶ
Σῶγχιν τὸν Σαῖτην, λογιστάτοις οὖσι τῶν ἱερέων, συνεφιλοσόφησε
παρ' ὧν καὶ τὸν Ἀτλαντικὸν ἀκούσας λόγον, ὥς Πλάτων (*Τιμη.*
21 ff, *Criti* 108 d) φησὶν, ἐπεχείρησε διὰ ποιήματος ἐξενεγκεῖν εἰς
τοὺς Ἕλληνας

[ΕΠΩΝ]

31

Plut *Vit. Sol.* 3 ἔνιοι δέ φασιν ὅτι καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἐπε-
χείρησεν ἐντείνας εἰς ἔπος ἐξενεγκεῖν, καὶ διαμνημονεύουσι τὴν
ἀρχὴν οὕτως ἔχουσιν

Πρῶτα μὲν εὐχόμεσθα Διὶ Κρονίδῃ βασιλῇ
θεσμοῖς τοῖσδε τύχην ἀγαθὴν καὶ κῦδος ὀπάσσαι.

¹ traces after φ suit ι, ο, ρ and spaces fit λ and χ; cf. Plut.
Vit. Sol. 14 δ Σ ὁκνῶν φησι τὸ πρῶτον ἀψασθαι τῆς πολιτείας,
καὶ δεδοικῶς τῶν μὲν τὴν φιλοχρηματίαν, τῶν δὲ τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν
traces belie φιλαργυρίαν, φιλοχρυσίαν, φιληδονίαν

SOLON

and speaking generally he ascribes the discord to the rich, and that is why at the beginning of the same *Elegy* he says that he fears

both pride and the love of pelf,
considering these to be the cause of the enmity

29¹

[Plato] *On Justice* Well says the proverb .

Poets tell many lies.

Scholias *on the passage* used of those who say what is not true for profit or to entertain their hearers . . . This saying occurs . in Solon's *Elegies*

30

Plutarch *Life of Solon* He first visited Egypt, and spent some time, as he says himself,

at Nile's outpourings nigh the Canopic strand,
and for a while shared the studies of the most erudite of the priests, Psenopis of Hehopolis and Sonchus of Sais, from whom it was, as Plato tells us, that he learnt the history of Atlantis, which he began to make known to the Greeks by means of a poem he did not finish.

[EPIC POEMS]

31

Plutarch *Life of Solon* Some writers declare that he also made a beginning of putting his laws into Epic verse and thus publishing them to the world, and they record the opening lines as follows

First let us pray to King Zeus Son of Cronus, that
he bestow good fortune and honour upon these
ordinances.

¹ Sch Plat p 123 Bek, Arist *Met* 983 a 3, Plut *Poet* 2, *Paroem Gr* 1 p. 371, 11 p. 128 (Gott), Apost. 14 41

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

[B'] ΤΕΤΡΑΜΕΤΡΩΝ

32, 33, 33A πρὸς Φῶκον

Ibid. 14 ἀλλὰ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς φίλους εἶπεν, ὡς λέγεται, καλὸν μὲν εἶναι τὴν τυραννίδα χωρίον, οὐκ ἔχειν δὲ ἀπόβασιν, πρὸς δὲ Φῶκον ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι γράφων

εἰ δὲ γῆς ἐφεισάμην
πατρίδος, τυραννίδος δὲ καὶ βίης ἀμειλίχου
οὐ καθηψάμην, μιάνας καὶ καταισχύνας κλέος,
οὐδὲν αἰδεῦμαι· πλέον γὰρ ὧδε νικήσειν δοκέω
πάντας ἀνθρώπους.

ὅθεν εὐδελον ὅτι καὶ πρὸ τῆς νομοθεσίας μεγάλην δόξαν εἶχεν ἃ δὲ φυγόντος αὐτοῦ τὴν τυραννίδα πολλοὶ καταγελῶντες ἔλεγον, γέγραφεν οὕτως

Οὐκ ἔφν Σόλων βαθύφρων οὐδὲ βουλήεις ἀνὴρ·
ἐσθλὰ γὰρ θεοῦ διδόντος αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐδέξατο·
περιβαλὼν δ' ἄγραν ἀγασθεὶς οὐκ ἐπέσπασεν μέγα
δίκτυον, θυμοῦ θ' ἀμαρτῇ καὶ φρενῶν ἀποσφαλεῖς·
5 ἥθελον γάρ κεν κρατήσας, πλούτον ἄφθονον λαβὼν
καὶ τυραννεύσας Ἀθηνῶν μῦνον ἡμέραν μίαν,
ἄσκος ὕστερον δεδάρθαι κάπιτετριφθαι γένος.

ταῦτα τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ φαύλους περὶ αὐτοῦ πεποίηκε λέγοντας οὐ μὴν ἀπασάμενόν γε τὴν τυραννίδα τὸν πρῶτατον ἐχρήσατο τρόπον τοῖς πράγμασιν, οὐδὲ μαλακῶς οὐδ' ὑπέικων τοῖς δυναμένοις οὐδὲ πρὸς ἡδονὴν τῶν ἐλομένων ἔθετο τοὺς νόμους ἀλλ' ἢ μὲν ἄρ' οἴστων¹ ἦν οὐκ ἐπήγαγεν ἱατρείαν οὐδὲ καινοτομίαν, φοβηθεὶς μὴ 'συγχέας παντάπασιν καὶ ταραξας τὴν πόλιν ἀσθενέστερος γένηται τοῦ καταστῆσαι πάλιν καὶ συναρμόσασθαι'² πρὸς τὸ ἄριστον

e g [μῆδὲ συγχέας ταραξας παντάπασιν τὴν πόλιν
ἀσθενέστερος γένωμαι τοῦ καταστῆσαι πάλιν
καὶ συναρμόσασθαι.]

¹ E. mss ἄριστον

² mss also διαρμ

SOLON

[Book ii] TETRAMETERS

32, 33, 33A To PHOCUS

The Same He is said to have observed to his friends that despotism is a fine position from which there's no way of retreat,¹ and in his poems, he writes to Phocus ·

If I have spared my country and not put my hand forth unto despotism and relentless violence, befouling and disgracing my good name, I am not ashamed of it; for thus methinks I shall the rather surpass the world.

From which it is quite clear that he stood in high repute even before his legislation And with regard to the ridicule heaped upon him for shirking supreme power, he writes as follows

Solon is no wiseacre nor sage, for he hath of his own free will refused good hap when Heaven offered it. Though he hath his quarry in the trammels he is too amazed to draw the great net to, as one that hath lost both will and wit. Now had I the power, I had been only too glad to be flayed for a wineskin and my posterity wiped out, if only I might first have wealth abundant and rule Athens for a single day.

Thus he makes the baser sort speak of him. All the same, though he refused the supreme power, he did not govern in the mildest possible way, nor show in his legislation any lack of courage or any bending to the powerful or pandering to his electors, but rather where it was tolerable to leave things alone he applied no remedy and made no change, lest he

throw the city into so utter confusion as to be too weak afterwards to re-establish her and make her at unity²

with what is best.

¹ military metaphor
Plutarch's addition

² prob 'with what is best' is

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

34

Arist. Ἀθ Πολ. 12 [π Σόλωνος] καὶ πάλιν δ' ἐτέρωθί που λέγει περὶ τῶν διανείμασθαι τὴν γῆν βουλομένων

οὐ δ' ἐφ' ἀρπαγαῖσιν ἦλθον¹ ἐλπίδ' εἶχον ἀφνεάν,
κἀδόκουν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ὄλβον εὐρήσειν πολύν,
καί με κωτίλλοντα λείως τραχὺν ἐκφανεῖν νόον.
χαῦνα μὲν τότε' ἐφράσαντο, νῦν δέ μοι χολουμένοι
λοξὸν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὀρώσι πάντες ὥστε δήιον,
οὐ χρεῶν· ἃ μὲν γὰρ εἶπα σὺν θεοῖσιν ἤνυσα,
ἄλλα δ' οὐ μάτην ἔερδον, οὐδέ μοι τυραννίδος
ἦνδανεν² βία τι ῥέζειν, οὐδὲ πιείρας χθονὸς
πατρίδος κακοῖσιν ἐσθλοὺς ἰσομοιρίαν ἔχειν.

35

Liban *Ep.* 842 F καὶ ὡς ἐψεύδετο δεδήλωται . σὺ δ' εἰδὼς
τὸν Σόλωνα καὶ νῦν ὃν ἀνθ' ἡμῶν αἰτιᾶσθαι δίκαιον οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς

e.g.³ [ὃν <γὰρ> ἀνθ' ἡμῶν δίκαιον αἰτιᾶσθ' οὐκ
ἀγνοεῖς.]

[Γ'] IAMBON

36, 37

Arist. Ἀθ Πολ. 12 [π Σόλωνος] [πάλιν] δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς
ἀποκοπῆς τῶν χρεῶν καὶ τῶν δουλευόντων μὲν πρότερον ἐλευθε-
ρωθέντων δὲ διὰ τὴν σεισάχθειαν

ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν μὲν οὐνεκα ξυνήγαγον
δῆμον, τί τούτων πρὶν τυχεῖν ἐπαυσάμην ;
συμμαρτυροίη ταῦτ' ἂν ἐν δίκῃ χρόνου
μήτηρ μεγίστη δαιμόνων Ὀλυμπίων
5 ἄριστα, Γῇ μέλαινα, τῆς ἐγὼ ποτε

¹ Rich. ἐφ' ἀρπαγῇ συνῆλθον ² Rich. mss ἀνδάει ³ E

¹ or do anything tyrannous perforce ² (ll 4-5) cf
Plut. Sol. 16 3, (ll 6-7) Aristid Or. 28 137 (καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐστίν
148

SOLON

34

Aristotle *Constitution of Athens* [on Solon] And in another place, too, he says of the persons who wished to re-distribute the land

But they that came for plunder had rich hopes, reckoning every man that he would find himself great prosperity, and that for all my smooth words I should show a hard heart Vain were their imaginings then, and now they are angered with me and all eye me askance as if I were an enemy—wrongly, for with the Gods' help I have done what I said, and what I said not, that did I not do without due thought, nor did it please me to do aught by force of the supreme power,¹ nor yet that the bad should have equal share of their fat fatherland with the good ²

35

Libanius *Letters* And it is proved that he led . . . and you who know Solon are not unaware whom you should blame instead of us.

[BOOK III] IAMBI

36, 37

Aristotle *Constitution of Athens* ³. And again Solon speaks of the cancelling of debt, and of the citizens that were set free from slavery by the 'Disburdening'

But as for me, why did I stay me ere I had won that for which I gathered the commons? ⁴ Right good witness shall I have in the court of Time,⁵ to wit the Great Mother of the Olympian Gods, dark Earth,⁶

ἐν τετραμέτροις, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἰαμβοῖς) ³ besides the London Papyrus we have *Pap Berl* 163 for ll 3-25 ⁴ i.e. formed the democratic party ⁵ cf (ll 3-22) Aristid *l c* 128 (ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἰαμβοῖς) ⁶ (ll 6-14) cf Plut. *Sol* 15 5

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

- ὄρους ἀνείλον πολλαχῇ πεπηγότας,
 πρόσθεν δὲ δουλεύουσα, νῦν ἐλευθέρα.
 πολλοὺς δ' Ἀθήνας πατρίδ' εἰς θεόκτιτον
 ἀνήγαγον πραθέντας, ἄλλον ἐκδίκως,
 10 ἄλλον δικαίως, τοὺς δ' ἀναγκαίης ὑπο
 χρειοῦς φυγόντας,¹ γλῶσσαν οὐκέτ' Ἀττικὴν
 ἰέντας ὡς ἂν πολλαχῇ πλανωμένους,
 τοὺς δ' ἐνθάδ' αὐτοῦ δουλίην ἀεικέα
 ἔχοντας, ἦθη δεσποτῶν τρομευμένους,
 15 ἐλευθέρους ἔθηκα. ταῦτα μὲν κρατέειν
 ὁμοῦ² βίαν τε καὶ δίκην συναρμόσας
 ἔρεξα, καὶ διήλθον ὡς ὑπεσχόμην.
 θεσμοὺς δ' ὁμοίως τῷ κακῷ τε καὶ ἀγαθῷ
 εὐθείαν εἰς ἕκαστον ἀρμόσας δίκην
 20 ἔγραψα. κέντρον δ' ἄλλος ὡς ἐγὼ λαβών,
 κακοφραδὴς τε καὶ φιλοκτῆμων ἀνὴρ,
 οὐκ ἂν κατέσχε δῆμον· εἰ γὰρ ἤθελον
 ἂ τοῖς³ ἐναντίοισιν ἦνδανεν τοτέ,
 αὖθις δ' ἂ τοῖσιν οὐτέρᾳ⁴ φρασαίατο
 25 πολλῶν ἂν ἀνδρῶν ἥδ' ἐχρηώθη πόλις.
 τῶν οὐνεκ' ἀλκὴν πάντοθεν κυκεύμενος⁵
 ὡς ἐν κυσὶν πολλῇσιν ἐστράφη⁶ λύκος.

καὶ πάλιν ὀνειδίζων πρὸς τὰς ὕστερον αὐτῶν μεμψιμοιρίας ἀμφο-
 τέρων

Δήμῳ μὲν εἰ χρὴ διαφάδην⁷ ὀνειδίσαι,
 ἃ νῦν ἔχουσιν οὐποτ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἂν
 εὔδοντες εἶδον·

.

ὅσοι δὲ μείζους καὶ βίαν ἀμείνονες,
 αἰνοῖεν ἂν με καὶ φίλον ποιοίατο·

¹ Aristid χρησμὸν λέγοντας ² ἔρεξα with the inf like
 ποιεῖν in *Od* 23 258; Pap Lond κρατεεῖνομου, Pap Berol.

SOLON

whose so many fixed landmarks¹ I once removed, and have made her free that was once a slave. Aye, many brought I back to their God-built birthplace,² many that had been sold, some justly, some unjustly, and others that had been exiled through urgent penury, men that no longer spake the Attic speech because they had wandered so far and wide; and those that suffered shameful servitude at home, trembling before the whims of their owners, these made I free men. By fitting close together right and might³ I made these things prevail, and accomplished them even as I said I would. And ordinances I wrote, that made straight justice for each man, good and bad⁴ alike. Had another than I taken the goad in hand, a foolish man and a covetous, he had not restrained the people; for had I been willing to do now what pleased this party and now what pleased the other, this city had been bereft of many men. Wherefore mingling myself strength from all quarters I turned at bay like a wolf among many hounds.

And again he upbraids both sides for the complaints they made afterwards

As for the commons, if 'tis right to upbraid them openly, I say that what they have now they never would have dreamt of . . . And the greater men and stronger might well praise me and be friends with me ;

¹ i.e. mortgage-posts ² cf Aristid. *Or.* 46 278 ³ (l 16) cf Plut *Sol* 15. 1 ⁴ includes 'high and low'

κρ. τημον, Aristid κρατει (or -τη) ομου, Plut, quoting l. 16 only (Gomme), δμοῦ ³ Pap. Lond. αυτοις ⁴ Diels (i.e. οἱ ἐτέρῃ) Papp. ουτεροι, Aristid ἀτέροις (and δρᾶσαι διὰ for φρασ) ⁵ so Aristid (from κυκέω = κυκάω?) but 13 61 κυκωμ. Pap ποιούμενος ⁶ Pap. ἐτράφην ⁷ Condos. Pap -φράσιν

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

εἰ γάρ τις ἄλλος τῇσδε τῆς τιμῆς τύχεν,¹
οὐκ ἂν κατέσχε δῆμον οὐδ' ἐπαύσατο,²
πρὶν ἀναταράξας πῖαρ ἐξεῖλεν³ γάλα·
ἐγὼ δὲ τούτων ὥσπερ ἐν μεταιχμίῳ
ὄρος κατέστην.

38

Ath 14 645f γοῦρος ὅτι πλακοῦντος εἶδος ὁ Σόλων ἐν τοῖς
Ἰάμβοις φησὶν

Πίνουσι καὶ τρώγουσιν οἱ μὲν ἴτρια
οἱ δ' ἄρτον αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ συμμεμειγμένους
γούρους φακοῖσι· κείθι δ' οὔτε περμάτων
ἄπεστιν οὐδ' ἔν, ἄσσα τ'⁴ ἀνθρώποισι γῇ
φέρει μέλαινα, πάντα γ'⁵ ἀφθόνης πάρα.

39—40

Poll 10 103 [π θυείας] καὶ ἰγδιν δὲ αὐτὴν κεκλήκασι Σόλων
τε ἐν τοῖς Ἰάμβοις λέγων

σπεύδουσι δ' οἱ μὲν ἰγδιν, οἱ δὲ σίλφιον,
οἱ δ' ὄξος.

40

Phryn 396 ἔτι καὶ νῦν κόκκωνα οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν ὀρθῶς
καὶ γὰρ Σόλων ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν οὕτω χρηταί

κόκκωνας ἄλλος, ἄτερος⁶ δὲ σήσασμα

¹ so *E* from paraphr (Pap) εἰ γάρ τις ἄλλος, φησί, ταύτης
τῆς τιμῆς ἔτυχεν ² Plut οὕτ' ἂν οὕτ' ἐπ ³ Crus.
Pap. ανταρ, Plut ἂν ταρ (and ἐξέλη) Pap πυναρ i e πῦαρ
⁴ Ahr-*E* mss οὐδ' ἔνασσαν ⁵ mss δ' ⁶ Lob mss κ
δὲ ἄλλος ἔτερος

SOLON

for had another than I won such honour,¹ he had not restrained nor checked the commons till his churning were done and the richness taken from the milk,² whereas I, I set a mark as it were in the midway betwixt the two hosts of them³

38

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner* That γούρος was a kind of cake is shown by Solon, who says in his *Iambi*.

They drink, and some of them eat the while sesame-cakes and others bread, and yet others *guri* mingled with lentils. There, too, wants not any sort of pastry, and whatsoever the dark earth brings forth for man, they have it all in profusion.

39-40

Pollux *Onomasticon* Solon calls the mortar ἵγδus in his *Iambi*, where he says

And some fetch a mortar and others silphium and others again vinegar.

40

Phrymchus *Introduction to Learning* And ordinary people are right in calling the pomegranate-seed κόκκων to this day, for Solon uses the word thus in his poems.

One brought pomegranate-seeds, and another sesame.

¹ cf Plut *Sol* 16 4 (line 6) ² ἀναπαράγας points rather to butter than cream, though to judge by the other mentions of it the Greeks seem to have used it only medicinally, it is imported nowadays ³ in no-man's land, as we say, cf. Aristid 2 360

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

41

Diogen. 2 99 ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Σόλωνος Ἑλεγείων (*sic*) παραινετική
ἀρχῶν ἄκουε καὶ δίκαια κᾶδিকা.¹

42

Phot *Lex* 491. 21

ῥοῦν

τὸ ἥδυσμα· Σόλων

43

Diod. Sic 9 2 5 (p 328D) ὅτι ὁ Σόλων ἡγείτο τοὺς μὲν
πύκτας καὶ σταδιεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀθλητὰς μηδὲν ἀξιολόγον
συμβάλλεσθαι ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς σωτηρίαν, τοὺς δὲ φρονήσει καὶ
ἀρετῇ διαφέροντας μόνους δύνασθαι τὰς πατρίδας ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις
διαφυλάττειν.

44

Gal *Protr.* 8 ἄμεινον οὖν ἐστὶν ἐγνωκότας τὴν μὲν μεираκίων
ᾧραν τοῖς ἡρινόις ἄνθεσιν ἐοικυῖαν ὀλιγοχρόνιον τε τὴν τέρψιν
ἔχουσαν, ἐπαινεῖν τε τὴν Λεσβίαν λέγουσαν· ‘ὁ μὲν γὰρ κάλος
<εἷς κάλος> ὕσσον ἴδην πέλει, | ὁ δὲ κᾶγαθος αὐτίκα καὶ κάλος
ἔσσεται,’² πείθεσθαι δὲ καὶ Σόλωνι τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἐνδεικνυ-
μένῳ

¹ mss κᾶν δίκη κᾶν μὴ δίκη or καὶ δικαίως κᾶδίκως (both prob.
unmetrical for S) ² see Sappho 58 L G for textual notes

SOLON

41

Diogenian *Proverbs*. From the *Elegiacs* of Solon; hortatory:

Obey the lawful authorities, whether thou deem them right or no.

42¹

Photius *Lexicon* :

sumach

the seasoning, Solon.

43

Diodorus of Sicily *Historical Library*: Solon believed that boxers and runners and other athletes contribute nothing worth speaking of to the preservation of a state, but only men conspicuous for wit and virtue can keep their country safe in time of danger.²

44

Galen *Exhortation to Learning*. It were better therefore, since we know that the prime of youth is like the Spring flowers and its pleasures transitory, to approve the words of the Lesbian dame, 'He that is fair, is fair to outward show; He that is good will soon be fair also', and to agree with Solon when he gives the same counsel.³

¹ I add here three unclassifiable fragments ² cf. Xenoph. 2, the ref. may be only to an apophthegm ³ B suggests that Theogn 933-4 belongs to Solon, and is here referred to, see p 339.

ΚΛΕΟΒΟΥΛΟΥ

Βίος

Plat *Prot.* 343a [π. τῶν Ἑπτὰ Σοφῶν]. τούτων ἦν καὶ Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος καὶ Πιπτακὸς ὁ Μυτιληναῖος καὶ Βίας ὁ Πριηνεὺς καὶ Σόλων ὁ ἡμέτερος καὶ Κλεόβουλος ὁ Λίνδιος καὶ Μύσων ὁ Χηνεὺς, καὶ ἔβδομος ἐν τούτοις ἐλέγετο Λακεδαιμονίοις Χίλων.

Paus. 10 24. 1

Plut. *de E* 3 . . . Κλεόβουλος ὁ Λινδίων τύραννος.

Stob. *Fl* 70 16 [π. μνηστείας]. Κλεόβουλος ἔφη δεῖν συνοικίζειν ἀνδράσι τὰς ἑαυτῶν θυγατέρας τὴν μὲν ἡλικίαν παρθένους τὸ δὲ φρονεῖν γυναῖκας.

Plut *Sept. Sap* 12 [π. τῆς κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας ἐπιμελείας]. (τοῦτον οὖν ἄριστον) ὁ Κλεόβουλος (εἶπεν αὐτῷ δοκεῖν οἶκον) εἰ πλείονας ἔχοι τῶν φοβουμένων αὐτὸν τοὺς φιλοῦντας ὁ δεσπότης.

Apost 3 97a Ἀρετῆς οἰκεῖον ἀδικίαν μισεῖν, εὐσέβειαν φυλάσσειν. Κλεοβούλου.

See also Suid. Κλεοβουλίνη and Κλεόβουλος, *Anth. Pal.* 7. 81, 618, 9. 366, *Ael. V.H.* 3. 17, Plut.

CLEOBULUS

LIFE

Plato *Protagoras* [the Seven Sages] These were Thales of Miletus, Pittacus of Mytilene, Bias of Priene, our own Solon, Cleobulus of Lindus, Myson of Chen, and the Spartans made the seventh Chilon.¹

Pausanias *Description of Greece*: (see on Solon p. 105).

Plutarch *The E at Delphi*. Cleobulus the despot of Lindus

Stobaeus *Anthology* [on wooing]. Cleobulus declared that we ought to give our daughters to their husbands maidens in years but women in wits.

The Same *The Seven Sages* [on domestic economy]: According to Cleobulus, the best home is that whose master has more that love him than fear him.

Apostolius *Proverbs*. It is proper to virtue to hate unrighteousness and cherish piety; Cleobulus.

Sept. Sap, Dem. Phal. ap Stob. *Fl* 3. 79, *Fl. Mon*, *ibid* app 207, *Dict. Sap. ibid.* 3, Sch Luc. *Phal* i. 7. Ath 10. 445 a, Themist. *Or.* 17 p 215, 34 c. 3

¹ cf. Str. 14. 655

ΚΛΕΟΒΟΥΛΟΥ

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΙΝΙΓΜΑ

Diog L 1. 89 Κλεόβουλος Εὐαγόρου Λίνδιος, ὥς δὲ Δοῦρις, Κάρ· ἐνιοι δὲ εἰς Ἑρακλέα ἀναφέρειν τὸ γένος αὐτόν ῥάμῃ δὲ καὶ κάλλει διαφέρειν, μετασχεῖν δὲ τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ φιλοσοφίας γενέσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ θυγατέρα Κλεοβουλίνην, αἰνιγμάτων ἐξαμέτρων ποιήτριαν, ἧς μέμνηται καὶ Κρατῖνος ἐν τῷ ὁμωνύμῳ δράματι, πληθυντικῶς ἐπιγράψας. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀνανεώσασθαι αὐτὸν κτισθὲν ὑπὸ Δαναοῦ οὗτος ἐποίησεν Ἀίσματα καὶ Γρίφους εἰς ἔπη τρισχίλια

καὶ τὸ Ἐπίγραμμα τινες τὸ ἐπὶ Μίδα τοῦτόν φασι ποιῆσαι

Χαλκῆν παρθένος εἰμί, Μίδεω δ' ἐπὶ σήματι κεῖμαι·
ἔστ' ἂν ὕδωρ τε νάη καὶ δένδρεα μακρὰ τεθήλῃ,
ἡέλιος δ' ἀνίων λάμπῃ λαμπρά τε σελήνῃ,
καὶ ποταμοὶ γε ῥέωσιν ἀνακλύζῃ δὲ θάλασσα,
αὐτοῦ τῇδε μένουσα πολυκλαύτῳ ἐνὶ τύμβῳ
ἀγγελέω παριούσι Μίδας ὅτι τῇδε τεθάπται.

φέρουσι δὲ μαρτύριον Σιμωνίδου ᾄσμα, ὅπου φησί 'Τίς κεν αἰνήσειε νόφ πιτυτὸς Λίνδου ναέταν Κλεόβουλον | ἀενάοις ποταμοῖσιν ἄνθεσ' ἢ εἰαρινοῖς | ἀελίου τε φλογὶ χρυσέας τε σελάνας | καὶ θαλασσαιαὶ δῖναις ἀντία θέντα μένος στάλας, | ἅπαντα γάρ ἐστι θεῶν ἥσσω λίθον δὲ | καὶ βρότεοι παλάμαι θραύοντι μωροῦ φωτὸς ἅδε βουλά.' οὐ γὰρ εἶναι Ὀμήρου τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, πολλοῖς ἔτεσι προέχοντος, φασί, τοῦ Μίδα

φέρεται δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς Παμφίλης Ὑπομνήμασι καὶ αἰνιγμα τοῖον

Εἰς ὁ πατήρ, παῖδες δυοκαίδεκα· τῶν δὲ ἐκάστῳ
κοῦραι δις τριάκοντα¹ διάνδιχα εἶδος ἔχουσαι·
αἱ μὲν λευκαὶ ἔασιν ἰδεῖν, αἱ δ' αὖτε μέλαιναι·
ἀθάνατοι δέ τ' εὐόσαι, ἀποφθινύθουσιν ἅπασαι.

ἔστι δὲ ὁ ἐνιαυτός . . ἐτελεύτησε δὲ γηραιός, ἔτη βιοῦς ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπεγράφη 'Ἄνδρα σεφὸν Κλεόβουλον ἀποφθίμενον καταπερθεῖ | ἦδε πάτρα Λίνδος πόνητ' ἀγαλλομένη.'

¹ Canter (but ἐξήκ omitting δις) Stob. κᾶρα (κᾶρα) ἐξήκοντα: D. L. παῖδες and τριήκοντα, Suid π τριάκ, *Αντίκ* π. δις τριήκ

¹ cf A P 7 153, Philop in Arist 77 b 32 (p 156 Wall)
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CLEOBULUS

EPITAPH AND RIDDLE

Diogenes Laertius *Lives of the Philosophers* Cleobūlus son of Euagoras, of Lindus, according to Duris a Carian; some writers make his lineage go back to Heracles, and say that he was of remarkable strength and beauty, and acquainted with the learning of Egypt. He had a daughter Cleobulina, a poetess who wrote riddles in hexameter verse and is mentioned by Cratinus in the play which bears her name in the plural number. He is also said to have rebuilt the temple of Athena founded by Danaus. He wrote Songs and Riddles amounting to 3000 lines.

Some authorities ascribe to him the Epitaph on Midas:¹

A maiden of brass am I and I lie on the tomb of Midas. So long as water shall flow and tall trees grow green, Sun rise and shine and Moon give light, rivers run and sea wash shore, ever shall I abide upon this sore-lamented tomb and tell the passers-by that this is the grave of Midas

And they find evidence for this in a poem of Simonides² where he says 'Who that hath understanding would praise Cleobulus the man of Lindus for his pitting of the might of a grave-stone against the ever-running rivers and the flowers of the Spring, against the flame of Sun and of golden Moon, and against the eddies of the ocean-wave? All these are subject to the Gods, but a stone, even mortal hands may break it. This is the rede of a fool' For they deny that the epitaph is Homer's, who lived, say they, many years before Midas.

Pamphila's *Notes* preserve the following Riddle of his³

The father is one, the sons twelve, and each of these has twice thirty daughters of features twain; some are white and others are black, and though they be immortal they all perish.

The answer is 'the year.' . . He died an old man, seventy years of age, and his epitaph was 'This his birthplace Lindus, whose pride is the sea, mourns for a wise man, Cleobulus'

² 31 *L. G.* ³ cf Suid Κλεοβουλῖνη, *A.P.* 14. 101, Stob. *Ecl. Phys* 1 8 37

ΚΛΕΟΒΟΥΛΙΝΗΣ

Βίος

Plut *Coni Praec.* 48 τοὺς μὲν γὰρ τῆσδε τῆς πλουσίας μαργαρίτας καὶ τὰ τῆσδε τῆς ξένης σηρικὰ λαβεῖν οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ περιθέσθαι μὴ πολλοῦ πριαμένην, τὰ δὲ Θεανοὺς κόσμια καὶ Κλεοβουλίνης καὶ Γοργοῦς τῆς Λεωνίδου γυναικὸς καὶ Τιμοκλείας τῆς Θεαγένους ἀδελφῆς καὶ Κλαυδίας τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ Κορνηλίας τῆς Σκιπίωνος, καὶ ὅσαι ἐγένοντο θαυμασταὶ καὶ περιβόητοι, ταῦτα δ' ἔξεστι περικειμένην προῖκα καὶ κοσμουμένην αὐτοῖς ἐνδόξως ἅμα βιοῦν καὶ μακαρίως

Id *Sept Sap* 3' ὁ δ' Ἀνάχαρσις ἐν τῇ στοᾷ καθήστο, καὶ παιδίσκη προειστήκει τὴν κόμην ταῖς χερσὶ διακρίνουσα. ταύτην ὁ Θαλῆς ἐλευθεριώτατά πως αὐτῷ προσδραμοῦσαν ἐφίλησε καὶ γελάσας 'Οὕτως' ἔφη 'ποίει καλὸν τὸν ξένον, ὅπως ἡμερώτατος ὦν μὴ φοβερὸς ἢ τὴν ὄψιν ἡμῖν μηδ' ἄγριος' ἐμοῦ δ' ἐρομένου περὶ τῆς παιδὸς ἥτις εἶη, 'Τὴν σοφὴν' ἔφη 'καὶ περιβόητον ἀγνοεῖς Εὐμητιν, οὕτω γὰρ ταύτην ὁ πατὴρ αὐτός, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ πατρόθεν ὀνομάζουσι Κλεοβουλίνην.' καὶ ὁ Νειλόξενος εἶπεν 'Ἡ που τὴν περὶ τὰ αἰνίγματα δεινότητα καὶ σοφίαν' ἔφη 'τῆς κόρης ἐπαινεῖς· καὶ γὰρ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἔνια τῶν προβαλλομένων ὑπ' αὐτῆς διίκεται.' 'Οὐκ

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CLEOBULINA

LIFE

Plutarch *Conjugal Precepts*: The pearls of this rich woman and the silks of that foreign dame cannot be had or put on unless she that desires them buy them at a great price, whereas the adornments of Theano, Cleobulina, Gorgo wife of Leonidas, Timocleia sister of Theagenes, the elder Claudia, Cornelia daughter of Scipio, and all the admired and famous ladies of history, these a woman may bedeck herself with for nothing, and live her days in honour and happiness.

The Same *The Seven Sages* ¹ Anacharsis was seated in the porch, and there stood before him parting his hair for him a young girl, who ran up to Thales with a most ingenuous air. He kissed her and cried, laughing, 'Pray make our host look his best; we would not have him appear to his guests a whit less gentle and refined than he is.' When I asked him who the little maid was, he exclaimed 'Why, don't you know the learned and much-talked-of Eumetis as her father names her, but called by the world, after him, Cleobulina?' 'You must be referring' said Neiloxenus, 'to the wit and skill she shows in the riddles she propounds, some of which have spread as far as Egypt.'

¹ the scene is of course fictitious

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

ἔγωγε' εἶπεν ὁ Θαλῆς· 'τούτοις γὰρ ὥσπερ ἀστραγάλοις, ὅταν τύχῃ, παίζουσα χρῆται καὶ διαβάλλεται πρὸς τοὺς ἐντυχόντας. ἀλλὰ καὶ φρόνημα θαυμαστὸν καὶ νοῦς ἔνεστι πολιτικὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἦθος, καὶ τὸν πατέρα τοῖς πολίταις πραότερον ἄρχοντα παρέχει καὶ δημοτικώτερον.' 'Εἶεν' ὁ Νειλόξενος ἔφη· 'καὶ φαίνεται βλέποντι πρὸς τὴν λιτότητα καὶ ἀφέλειαν αὐτῆς· 'Ανάχαρσιν δὲ πόθεν οὕτω τημελεῖ φιλοστόργως ;' 'Ὅτι' ἔφη· 'σώφρων ἀνὴρ ἐστὶ καὶ πολυμαθής, καὶ τὴν δίαιταν αὐτῇ καὶ τὸν καθαρμόν, ᾧ χρῶνται Σκύθαι περὶ τοὺς κάμνοντας, ἀφθόνως καὶ προθύμως παραδέδωκε. καὶ νῦν οἶμαι περιέπειν αὐτὴν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι, μανθάνουσάν τι καὶ προσδιαλεγομένην.'

Diog L 1 22 Ἦν τοίνυν ὁ Θαλῆς, ὡς μὲν Ἡρόδοτος καὶ Δοῦρις καὶ Δημόκριτός φασι, πατρὸς μὲν Ἐξαμύου, μητρὸς δὲ Κλεοβουλίνης

Ath 10 448 b [π. γρίφων]· ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ζητήσωμεν πρότερον μὲν τίς ὁ ὄρος τοῦ γρίφου, τίνα δὲ Κλεοβουλίνη ἢ Λινδία προὔβαλλεν ἐν τοῖς αἰνίγμασιν.

Ibid 13 586 a . "Ἀλεξίς ἐν Κλεοβουλίναις.

Ibid 4 171 b παροψωνεῖν δ' ἔφη Κρατῖνος ἐν Κλεοβουλίναις οὕτως.

LIFE OF CLEOBULINA

‘Not I’ rejoined Thales; ‘these are but the astragals or playdice which she flings just to divert herself with any that may be her company No, no; there’s more in it than that. She has an admirable judgment, a political mind, and a sweet disposition, and her father’s rule is the lighter for it.’ ‘Say no more,’ cried Neilo Xenus; ‘one has only to look at her simple and unstudied behaviour. But why this affectionate tendance of Anacharsis?’ ‘For the reason’ he replied ‘that he is so wise a man and so learned, and has given her such full and generous knowledge of the regimen, the way of purification, which the Scythians use upon the sick And as she treats him with all this tenderness, I make no doubt she is meanwhile learning something by disputation with him’

Diogenes Laertius *Life of Thales* · If we may believe Herodotus, Duris, and Democritus, Thales’ father was Examyas and his mother Cleobulina

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner* [on riddles]: But we will first enquire what is the definition of the term riddle, and what were the questions propounded by Cleobulina of Lindus.

The Same . . . Alexis in his comedy *The Cleobulinas*.

The Same: The word *παροψωνεῖν* ‘to buy an additional relish’ is used by Cratinus in *The Cleobulinas*.

See also Plut. *Pyth. Orac.* 14 and Cleobulus (*above*).

ΚΛΕΟΒΟΥΛΙΝΗΣ

ΑΙΝΙΓΜΑΤΩΝ

1

Ath 10 452 b πολλοὶ δὲ <τῶν>¹ γρίφων καὶ τοιοῦτοί τινές
εἰσιν, οἷον

Ἄνδρ' εἶδον πυρὶ χαλκὸν ἐπ' ἀνέρι κολλήσαντα
οὕτω συγκόλλως ὥστε σύναιμα ποιεῖν.

τοῦτο δὲ σημαίνει σικύας προσβολήν

2

Anon ap. Diels *Vorsokr* 2 339 27 [π. δικαίου καὶ ἀδίκου].
ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς τέχνας τρέφομαι καὶ τὰ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐν γὰρ τραγω-
δοποιῖζ καὶ ζωγραφίζ ὅστις <κα> πλεῖστα ἐξαπατῇ ὅμοια τοῖς
ἀληθινοῖς ποιέων, οὗτος ἄριστος θέλω δὲ καὶ ποιημάτων παλαιο-
τέρων μαρτύριον ἐπαγαγέσθαι. Κλεοβουλίνης·

Ἄνδρ' εἶδον κλέπτοντα καὶ ἐξαπατῶντα βιαίως,
καὶ τὸ βία ῥέξαι τοῦτο δικαιοτάτον.

3

Plut *Sept Sap* 5 [π. Σκυθῶν] 'Πάνυ μὲν οὖν' ἔφη 'γλώσσης
ἀνθρωπίνης συνιέντες, οὐχ ὥσπερ δ' οἱ Ἕλληνες οἰόμενοι Σκυθῶν
διαλέγεσθαι βέλτιον ὅμως τοὺς θεοὺς ὁστέων καὶ ξύλων ἥδιον
ἀκροᾶσθαι νομίζουσιν' ὁ δ' Αἴσωπος 'Εἴ γ' εἶπεν 'εἰδείης, ὦ
ξένη, τοὺς νῦν ἀυλοποιοὺς ὥς προέμενοι τὰ νεβρεῖα χρώμενοι τοῖς
ὄνειοις βέλτιον ἤχειν λέγουσιν διδ καὶ Κλεοβουλίνη πρὸς τὸν
Φρύγιον αὐλὸν ᾄνιστα

Κνήμη νεκρὸς ὄνος με κερασφόρῳ οὐας ἔκρουσεν.²

ὥστε θαυμάζειν τὸν ὄνον εἰ παχύτατος καὶ ἀμουςότατος ὢν τᾶλλα
λεπτότατον καὶ μουσικώτατον ὁστέον παρέχεται·

¹ Kaib.

² νεκρὸς ὄνος με Bern mss νεβρογόνοσ αιμε

¹ cf. Plut *Pyth Or* 14 *Sept Sap.* 10, Arist *Rh* 1405a 35,
Poet. 1458 a 26, Demetr *Eloc* 102, *Rh Gr* 6. 200, 7 949 W

CLEOBULINA

RIDDLES

1

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner* Many riddles are of the following kind

I saw one man welding bronze to another man with fire, so tightly as to make them common blood.

The answer to this is 'the applying of a cupping-glass'¹

2

Anonymous Writer in Diels' *Vorsokratiker* [on right and wrong] I will turn to the arts and poetry. In the writing of tragedy and in painting, whoever is most deceptive in making things like the truth is the best I propose to cite some poems too of the more ancient authorities Cleobulina —

I saw a man steal and cheat perforce, and to do this perforce was most righteous.²

3

Plutarch *Seven Sages* [the Scythians] · 'Quite so' replied Anacharsis, 'and because they understand human speech and are not like the Greeks who think that they converse so much better than the Scythians and yet believe that the Gods listen with greater pleasure to bones and sticks.' 'May I inform you,' exclaimed Aesop, 'that the flutemakers of the present day have discarded the leg-bones of fawns for those of asses, and declare that they thereby improve the sound?' And that is why Cleobulina made the following Riddle on the Phrygian flute.

A dead ass boxed my ear with his hornèd shin-bone;
to make us wonder that a beast otherwise so stupid and unmusical as the ass should furnish the finest and most musical of all bones.

² the answer is prob 'a man stealing a dagger from a mad-man', cf Arist *Eth. Nic* 1134 a 17 ff and Sch (*Hermes* 5, 81, 82)

ΔΗΜΟΔΟΚΟΥ

ΕΛΕΓΕΙΩΝ

1

Arist. *Eth Nic* 1151a 5 ὅτι μὲν οὖν κακία ἢ ἀκρασία οὐκ ἔστι, φανερόν· ἀλλὰ πῇ ἴσως τὸ μὲν γὰρ παρὰ προαίρεσιν τὸ δὲ κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἔστιν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁμοίον γε κατὰ τὰς πράξεις ὥσπερ τὸ Δημοδόκου εἰς Μιλησίους·

<Καὶ τόδε Δημοδόκου>.¹ Μιλήσιοι ἀξύνετοι μὲν οὐκ εἰσίν, δρῶσιν δ' οἷα περ ὠξύνετοι.²

καὶ οἱ ἀκρατεῖς ἄδικοι μὲν οὐκ εἰσίν, ἀδικοῦσι δέ.

2

Anth Pal. 11. 235 Δημοδόκου·

Καὶ τόδε Δημοδόκου· Χίλοι κακοί· οὐχ ὁ μὲν ὅς δ' οὐ, πάντες, πλὴν Προκλέους· καὶ Προκλῆς Χίλιος.³

TETRAMETRON

3

Diog L. 1. 84 [π. Βίαντος] λέγεται δὲ καὶ δίκας δεινότατος γεγονέναι εἰπεῖν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ μέντοι τῇ τῶν λόγων ἰσχύι προσεχρήτο ὅθεν καὶ Δημόδοκος ὁ Λέριος⁴ τοῦτο αἰνίττεται λέγων

^α Ἦν τύχης κρίνων, δικάζεν τὴν Πριηνίνην δίκην.

¹ B δὲ Χίλιος ² E mss ἀξύνετοι, οἱ ἀξύν ³ Brunck mss
⁴ Bochart-Menagius mss Δημόδικος ὁ Ἀλείριος

¹ cf Aspas *ad loc*, Plut *de Flum* 18 (?) ² cf Phocyl 1, which is perh. a parody in answer to D's attack
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DEMODOCUS

ELEGIACS

1

Aristotle *Nicomachean Ethics* Now it is clear that lack of self-control is not a vice—though in a way perhaps it is, for it may or may not be deliberate, all the same the result is similar, as in the line of Demodocus on the Milesians ¹

<Thus also spake Demodocus—>The Milesians are not dolts, but they behave like dolts;

in the same way, the uncontrolled may not be knaves, but they behave like knaves

2

Palatine Anthology. Demodocus —

Thus also spake Demodocus—The Chians are bad men, not one bad and another not, but all save Procles, and Procles is a Chian ²

TETRAMETERS

3

Diogenes Laertius *Life of Bias* ³ He is said to have had a remarkable talent for pleading a cause, but he used the full strength of his oratory to a good end, and so it is this that Demodocus of Leros means in the line

If ever thou go to law, prosecute thy case after the manner of Priene ⁴

on the Milesians (fr 1) ³ cf Suid. δικάζεσθαι
technical terms do not correspond with Attic usage

⁴ the

ΦΩΚΥΛΙΔΟΥ

Βίος

Suid. Φωκυλίδης· Μιλήσιος, φιλόσοφος, σύγχρονος Θεόγνιδος. ἦν δὲ ἐκάτερος μετὰ χμῖς ἔτη τῶν Τρωικῶν, Ὀλυμπιάδι γεγονότες νθ'. ἔγραψεν ἔπη καὶ ἐλεγείας, παραινέσεις ἥτοι γνώμας· ἄς τινες Κεφάλαια ἐπιγράφουσιν· εἰσὶ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Σιβυλλιακῶν κεκλεμμένα

Plut *Rat Aud.* 13 μέμφαιτο δ' ἄν τις Ἀρχιλόχου μὲν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, Παρμενίδου δὲ τὴν στιχοποιίαν, Φωκυλίδου δὲ τὴν εὐτέλειαν, Εὐριπίδου δὲ τὴν λαλίαν, Σοφοκλέους δὲ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν . . . ἕκαστός γε μὴν ἐπαινεῖται κατὰ τὸ ἴδιον τῆς δυνάμεως, ᾧ κινεῖν καὶ ἄγειν πέφυκεν.

Ath 14 632 d ὅτι δὲ πρὸς τὴν μουσικὴν οἰκειότατα διέκειντο οἱ ἀρχαῖοι δῆλον καὶ ἐξ Ὀμήρου· ὃς διὰ τὸ μεμελοποιηκέναι πᾶσαν ἑαυτῷ¹ τὴν ποίησιν ἀφροντιστὶ² πολλοὺς ἀκεφάλους ποιεῖ στίχους καὶ λαγαροὺς, ἔτι δὲ μειούρους. Ξενοφάνης δὲ καὶ Σόλων καὶ Θεόγνις καὶ Φωκυλίδης, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Περίανδρος ὁ Κορίνθιος ἐλεγειοποιὸς καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν οἱ μὴ προσάγοντες πρὸς τὰ ποιήματα μελωδίαν ἐκπονοῦσι <τελείους>³

¹ mss -τοῦ
(but after μέτρων)

² mss insert τοὺς

³ sugg Καιβ.

PHOCYLIDES

LIFE

Suidas *Lexicon*: Phocylides —Of Miletus, a philosopher, contemporary with Theognis. Both flourished 1047 years after the Trojan War, their date being the 59th Olympiad (544–1 B C).¹ Phocylides wrote epic and elegiac verse, counsels or maxims, entitled by some authorities *Heads* or *Chapters*. They are taken from the Sibylline Books.

Plutarch *On Listening* Archilochus may be blamed for his subject-matter, Parmenides for his versification, Phocylides for his poverty of expression, Euripides for his discursiveness, Sophocles for his inequality of style. . Yet each is praised for the peculiar power nature has given him to rouse and lead his hearers

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner* The familiarity of the ancients with music is at once clear from Homer, who, because all his poetry was for music, gives many lines that are 'headless' (with a short syllable for a long at the beginning), 'weak' (in the middle), and even 'curtal' (in the last or second last foot), without minding in the least; whereas Xenophanes, Solon, Theognis, and Phocylides, and also Perander the elegy-writer of Corinth, and indeed all of the others who do not put music to their poetry, always make

¹ Jerome gives 534, Euseb. Arm. version 540

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

τοὺς στίχους τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς καὶ τῇ τάξει τῶν μέτρων καὶ σκοποῦσιν ὅπως αὐτῶν μηθεὶς <μήτε>¹ ἀκέφαλος ἔσται μήτε λαγαρὸς μήτε μείουρος.

Ibid 14. 620 c.

Cic. Att 4 9 1 nos hic cum Pompeio fuimus. multa mecum de republica, sane sibi displicens, ut loquebatur (sic est enim in hoc homine dicendum), Syriam spernens, Hispaniam iactans, hic quoque ut loquebatur, et opinor usquequaque de hoc cum dicemus, sit hoc quasi καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδου.

Dio Chrys. 2 19 ἴσως δέ τινα (τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν) καὶ δημοτικὰ λέγοιτ' ἄν, συμβουλεύοντα καὶ παραινοῦντα τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ ἰδιώταις, καθάπερ οἶμαι τὰ Φωκυλίδου καὶ Θεόγνιδος . . . τὴν δέ γε Ὀμήρου ποίησιν κτλ.

Isocr. 2 43 σήμεριον δ' ἄν τις ποιήσαιτο τὴν Ἑσιόδου καὶ Θεόγνιδος καὶ Φωκυλίδου ποίησιν· καὶ γὰρ τούτους φασὶ μὲν ἀρίστους γεγενῆσθαι συμβούλους τῷ βίῳ τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ταῦτα δὲ λέγοντες αἰροῦνται συνδιατρίβειν ταῖς ἀλλήλων ἀνοίαις μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς ἐκείνων ὑποθήκαις.

¹ Mein

LIFE OF PHOCYLIDES

their lines in strict accordance with the number and arrangement of the metrical units, and take care to avoid all lines of the above sorts

The Same: (*See* Mimnermus p 87).

Cicero *Letters to Atticus* I have seen Pompey here He talked much of politics—of course, *to judge by what he said* (we must always say that of *him*), with self-depreciation; running down Syria, turning up his nose at Spain—here again we must add *to judge by what he said*, and so, I think, we must whenever we speak of him, like a sort of ‘Thus also spake Phocylides’

Dio Chrysostom *Oration*s . Perhaps some of the work of the other poets might be called ‘popular,’¹ giving counsel and exhortation to the generality of men, for instance, I take it, the poems of Phocylides and Theognis . whereas the poetry of Homer, etc

Isocrates *To Nicocles* In proof of this we might adduce the poetry of Hesiod, Theognis, and Phocylides, whom they declare to have been the best counsellors in human life ever known, and yet choose to concern themselves rather with one another’s follies than with these poets’ exhortations

See also Dio Chrys 36 440, Steph Byz *Μίλλτος*, Eust Dion Per 823, Sch. Nic. *Al* 448, *A. P.* 10. 117, Cram. *A. P.* 4. 376 3.

¹ *i. e.* rather than suitable for a king

ΦΩΚΥΛΙΔΟΥ

ΕΛΕΓΕΙΩΝ

1

Sti 10 487 [π Σποράδων] καὶ Λέριος . .
 Καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδεω¹ Λέριοι κακοί· οὐχ ὁ μὲν ὃς
 δ' οὔ,
 πάντες, πλὴν Προκλέους· καὶ Προκλέης Λέριος.²
 διεβέβληντο γὰρ ὡς κακοήθεις οἱ ἐνθένδε ἄνθρωποι.

ΕΠΩΝ

2

Sch Ar. Nuβ. 240 ὅτι χρήστας ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης τοὺς δανειστὰς
 λέγει Φωκυλίδης ἐν μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῦ ποιήμασι κατὰ τὴν συνή-
 θειαν τοὺς χρεωφειλέτας χρήστας καλεῖ, λέγων οὕτως
 <Καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδεω>³ χρήστης κακοῦ ἔμ-
 μεναι ἀνδρὸς
 φεύγειν, μή σέ γ' ἀνιήσῃ⁴ παρὰ καιρὸν ἀπαιτέων.

3

Stob Fl 73 60 [ψόγος γυναικῶν, ἔτι καὶ περὶ γάμου]· Φωκυ-
 λίδου

Καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδεω· τετόρων ἀπὸ τῶνδε γέγοντο
 φύλα γυναικείων·⁵ ἡ μὲν κυνός, ἡ δὲ μελίσσης,
 ἡ δὲ συὸς βλοσυρῆς, ἡ δ' ἵππου χαιτηέσσης·
 εὐφορος ἦδε,⁶ ταχεῖα, περιδρομος, εἶδος ἀρίστη·

¹ mss -δου ² some mss here and in Eust have
 Πατροκλέους and Πατροκλέης ³ B ⁴ B· mss ἀνιήσειε
 (adding διδοῦς) ⁵ this form of γυναικῶν is without parallel
 (corruption of γυναικιδίων through hapl γυναικίων? E)
⁶ Brunck mss ἡδὲ

¹ cf Eust ad Dion Perieg 530, Paus 7 4 2 ² the name
 Procles may be wrong, perh 'Patrocles,' which some mss
 172

PHOCYLIDES

ELEGIAC POEMS

1

Strabo *Geography* Another of the Sporades is the island of Leros .¹

Thus also spake Phocylides—The Lerians are bad men, not one bad and another not, but all save Procles, and Procles is a Lerian²

It seems that the natives of this island were under the reproach of ill-nature

EPIC POEMS

2³

Scholiast on Aristophanes *Clouds* Aristophanes means by *χρηῖται* 'creditors'. Phocylides in his poems uses *χρήστης* in the ordinary sense, thus

<Thus also spake Phocylides—> Be not the debtor of a bad man, or he will annoy thee with asking to be paid before his time.

3

Stobaeus *Anthology* [censure of women, and also on marriage]. Phocylides —

Thus also spake Phocylides—The tribes of women come of these four, the bitch, the bee, the savage-looking⁴ sow, and the long-maned mare; the mare's daughter sprightly, quick, gadabout, and very comely,

have, of Demodocus 2 n⁵ cf Suid *ἀπαυτέων, χρήστης*, Liban *Ep.* 1073⁶ orig meaning doubtful, but cf *βλοσυρῶπις* of the Gorgon *Il* 11 36, Brugmann connects doubtfully with *βλεμεαίνω* 'to glare,' of the lion *Il* 12. 42, of Hector *Il* 8 337, we should in any case beware of the modern idea of surpassing fleshiness; Greek pigs were, and are, allowed to roam, and not fattened artificially

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

ἡ δὲ συνὸς βλοσυρῆς οὐτ' ἄρ' κακὴ οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλή·
ἡ δὲ κυνὸς χαλεπὴ τε καὶ ἄγριος· ἡ δὲ μελίσσης
οἰκονόμος τ' ἀγαθὴ καὶ ἐπίσταται ἐργάζεσθαι·
ῆς εὐχευ, φίλ' ἑταῖρε, λαχεῖν γάμον ἰμερόεντα.¹

4

Ibid. 87 2 [ὅτι οὐκ αἶε τοῖς εὐγενέσι καὶ χρηστοῖς τῶν πατέρων
ἔοικε τὰ τέκνα] Φωκυλίδου

Καὶ τότε Φωκυλίδεω· τί² πλέον γένος εὐγενὲς εἶναι
οἷς οὐτ' ἐν μύθοις ἔπεται χάρις οὐτ' ἐνὶ βουλῇ;

5

Dio Chrys. 36 11 οὕτως, ἔφην, καὶ τῆς τοῦ Φωκυλίδου ποιή-
σεως ἕξεστί σοι λαβεῖν δεῖγμα ἐν βραχεῖ καὶ γὰρ ἔστιν οὐ τῶν
μακρὰν τινα καὶ συνεχῇ ποίησιν εἰρόντων, ὥσπερ ὁ ὑμέτερος μίαν ἐξῆς
διέξεισι μάχην ἐν πλείοσιν ἢ πεντακισχιλίοις ἔπεσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ
δύο καὶ τρία ἔπη αὐτῷ καὶ ἀρχὴν ἢ ποίησις καὶ πέρας λαμβάνει,
ὥστε καὶ προστίθῃσι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καθ' ἕκαστον διανόημα, ἅτε
σπουδαῖον καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἡγούμενος, οὐχ ὥσπερ Ὀμηρος οὐδαμοῦ
τῆς ποιήσεως ὠνόμασεν αὐτόν ἢ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι εἰκότως προσθεῖναι
'Φωκυλίδης' τῇ τοιαύτῃ γνώμῃ καὶ ἀποφάσει,

Καὶ τότε Φωκυλίδεω³ πόλις ἐν σκοπέλῳ κατὰ
κόσμον

οἰκεῦσα σμικρὴ κρέσσων Νίνου ἀφραινούσης.

6

Phryn 358 γογγυσμὸς καὶ γογγύζειν ταῦτα ἀδόκιμα μὲν οὐκ
ἔστιν, ἱακὰ δὲ Φωκυλίδην γὰρ οἶδα κεχρημένον αὐτῷ τὸν Μιλή-
σιον, αἰδρα παλαιὸν σφόδρα

Καὶ τότε Φωκυλίδεω· χρή τοι τὸν ἑταῖρον ἑταίρω
φροντίζειν ἄσσω ἂν περιγογγύζωσι πολῖται.

¹ Brunck mss gen ² Brunck mss -δου τὸ ³ mss -δου

¹ cf Ibid 32 457, Themist 24 307 c ² *lit.* adds or puts
to ³ N was destroyed in 612 B C.

PHOCYLIDES

the savage-looking sow's neither bad, belike, nor good,
the bitch's tetchy and ill-mannered; and the bee's
a good huswife who knows her work—and 'tis she, my
friend, thou shouldst pray thou mayst get thee in
delectable wedlock

4

The Same [that high-born and worthy fathers do not always
get children like themselves]. Phocylides —

Thus also spake Phocylides—Of what advantage is
high birth to such as have no grace either in words
or in counsel?

5¹

Dio Chrysostom *Oration*s. In the same way, said I, you
can take a brief example from the poetry of Phocylides, who
is not one of those stringers-together of some long and con-
tinuous piece of versification like your friend who takes more
than five thousand lines to recount a single battle, but writes
pieces extending first and last to but two or three lines,
indeed he prefixes² his name to each sentiment he expresses,
as believing it of serious import and great value—unlike
Homer, who never names himself. You agree, do you not,
that he had every right to prefix *Phocylides* to such a maxim
or pronouncement as this

Thus also spake Phocylides—A little state living
orderly in a high place is stronger than a block-
headed Nineveh.³

6

Phrynichus *Introduction to Learning*. *Muttering* and *to mutter* —These words are not to be rejected, but are Ionic.
They are used, I know, by a very ancient writer, Phocylides
of Miletus

Thus also spake Phocylides—Comrade should con-
sider with comrade what their fellow-townsmen
mutter in their ears.

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

7

Stob *Fl* 56 6 [π. γεαργίας ὅτι ἀγαθόν]

Χρηίζων πλούτου μελέτην ἔχε πίνους ἀγροῦ·
ἀγρὸν γάρ τε λέγουσιν Ἀμαλθείης κέρας εἶναι.

8

Orion *Antih* 1. 22 ἐι τῶν Φωκυλίδου

Νυκτὸς βουλεύειν, νυκτὸς δέ τοι ὀξυτέρῃ φρὴν
ἀνδράσιν· ἡσυχίῃ δ' ἀρετὴν¹ διζήμενῳ ἐσθλή.

9

Stob *Fl*. App. p. 157 M [π. τοῦ δοκεῖν καὶ τοῦ εἶναι, καὶ ὅτι
οὐ τῷ λόγῳ χρὴ κρίνειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀλλὰ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐκτὸς γὰρ
ἔργου πᾶς λόγος περιττός] Φωκυλίδου

Πολλοί τοι δοκέουσι σαόφρονες ἔμμεναι ἄνδρες,
σὺν κόσμῳ στείχοντες ἐλαφρόνοοί περ ἑόντες.²

10

Arist *Top* 3. 118 a 10 τὸ γοῦν φιλοσοφεῖν βέλτιον τοῦ
χρηματίζεσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἀρετύτερον τῷ ἐνδεῇ τῶν ἀναγκαίων.

Sch *ad loc.* p 275 Bek κατὰ γὰρ τὸν Φωκυλίδην

Δίξισθαι³ βιοτήν, ἀρετὴν δ' ὅταν ᾗ βίος ἤδη.

11

Ath 10 428 b ὁ δὲ Φωκυλίδης ἔφη·

χρὴ δ' ἐν συμποσίῳ κυλίκων περινισομενάων
ἡδέα κωτίλλοντα καθήμενον οἶνοποτάζειν.

¹ Schn. mss -τη

² Gais mss σάφρ and ἐλαφρόνο

³ so Diogen (but -ζε-) Sch Arist. δεῖ ζητεῖν

PHOCYLIDES

7

Stobaeus *Anthology* [that husbandry is a good thing]:
Phocylides —

If thou desirest riches, see that thou hast a fertile
farm; for a farm, they say, is a hoim of Amalthea.

8¹

Orion of Thebes *Anthology* From Phocylides.—

Take thy counsel at night; at night a man's wits
are sharper; quiet is good for one that seeketh
virtue.²

9

Stobaeus *Anthology* [on being and seeming-to-be, and that
we should not judge a man by what he says but what he
is, because speech is superfluous when there is no action]:
Phocylides —

Many that are of little wit seem to be wise if their
walk be orderly

10²

Aristotle *Commonplaces* The life of a philosopher is better
than that of a man of affairs, but to the man who lacks the
necessaries of existence it is not preferable

Scholast on the passage . . for as Phocylides says .

Seek a living, and when thou hast a living, virtue.³

11

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner*. And Phocylides says —

When the cups go round at a drinking-bout we
should quaff our wine quietly amid pleasant talk.

¹ cf Tz on Ar *Ran* 962 *Rheon Mus.* 6 616 ² cf Plat.
Rep 407 a, Diogen 4 39, Liban *Ep* 1536 ³ 'virtue' in-
cluded other excellence than moral

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

12

Arist *Pol* 1295 b. 28 [π τῶν μέσων] καὶ σφύζονται δ' ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οἷοι μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν οὔτε γὰρ αὐτοὶ τῶν ἄλλοτρίων ὥσπερ οἱ πένητες ἐπιθυμοῦσιν, οὔτε τῆς τούτων ἕτεροι καθάπερ τῆς τῶν πλουσίων οἱ πένητες ἐπιθυμοῦσιν καὶ διὰ τὸ μήτ' ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι μήτ' ἐπιβουλεύειν ἀκινδύνως διάγουσιν διὰ τοῖτο καλῶς ᾗξαστο Φωκυλίδης

Πολλὰ μέσοισιν ἄριστα· μέσος θέλω ἐν πόλει εἶναι.

13

Plut. *Puer Educ.* 5 κινδυνεύει καὶ Φωκυλίδης ὁ ποιητῆς καλῶς παραινεῖν λέγων

χρὴ παῖδ' ἔτ' εἶντα
καλὰ διδασκόμεν ἔργα.

14

Id. *Rat Aud.* 18 . . . ὑπομένωμεν τοὺς τῶν εὐφυνῶν δοκούντων γέλωτας οὐ γὰρ μόνον, ὥς φησι Φωκυλίδης

Πολλὰ πλανηθῆναι¹ διζήμενον ἔμμεναι ἐσθλόν·
ἀλλὰ γεῖσθῆναι δεῖ πολλὰ καὶ ἀδοξῆσαι . . .

15

Clem *Al Str* 5 725 ἔτι πρὸς τοῖσδε Φωκυλίδης τοὺς ἀγγέλους δαίμονας καλῶν, τοὺς μὲν εἶναι ἀγαθοὺς αὐτῶν τοὺς δὲ φαύλους . . . παρίστησιν

ἀλλ' ἄρα δαίμονές εἰσιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν ἄλλοτε ἄλλοι,
οἱ μὲν ἐπερχομένου κακοῦ ἀνέρας² ἐκλύσασθαι . . .

¹ so Clem Plut πόλλ' ἀπατηθῆναι *A P* οὐ μόνον τὸ Φωκυλίδειον παθεῖν, πόλλ' ἀέκοντα διζήμενον οὐ μόνον τὸ (τοῦ) ἄεθλον ἀλλὰ καὶ πονῆσαι πόρους οὐ φαύλους, whence *B* πόλλ' ἀέκοντα παθεῖν δις κτλ. ² Schn mss κακὸν ἀνέρος

PHOCYLIDES

12¹

Aristotle *Politics* [on the middle-class] It is these which are securest in a state, neither are they themselves covetous of other men's goods like the poor, nor are others covetous of theirs as poor men's are of rich men's, and they run no risks, because they are neither the objects nor the authors of conspiracy. And this is why we may approve the wish of Phocylides

Much advantage is theirs who are midmost, and midmost in a city would I be.

13²

Plutarch *Education* The poet Phocylides appears to me to give excellent advice when he says

We should learn noble deeds when we are yet children.

14³

The Same *On Listening* Let us then put up with the ridicule of the seeming-clever for not only must we, as Phocylides says

Make many mistakes⁴ in seeking to be good; but also be much laughed at and despised . . .

15⁵

Clement of Alexandria *Miscellanies* Moreover Phocylides, who calls the angels *daimones* or spirits, represents some of them as good and others as bad . . .

But there must be spirits in the world, now these and now those, some < wont > to save men from coming ill . . .⁶

¹ cf Alex Aphr in *Top.* 116 a 13, 14, 123 b 23 ² cf Mai *Coll Vat* 3 198 ³ cf Cram *A P* 1 166, Clem *Al Str* 5 140 6 ⁴ so Clement Plut 'be often deceived,' Cramer's *Ined* (emended by B) 'suffer much unwillingly'

⁵ cf Euseb. *Praep. Ev* 13 687 c ⁶ a third line is lost

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

16

Arist. *Eth. Nic* 1129 b 27 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλάκις κρατίστη
τῶν ἀρετῶν εἶναι δοκεῖ ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ παροιμιαζόμενοί
φάμεν·

ἐν δὲ δικαιοσύνῃ συλλήβδην πᾶσ' ἀρετῇ στιν.

Sch. *ad loc* p. 210 Heyl τοῦτο Θεόγνιδος εἴρηται δὲ οὕτως·
(Theogn. 145-7) χώραν μέντοι παροιμίας ἐπέχει· καὶ μέμνηται
αὐτῆς ὡς παροιμίας Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ Ἡθῶν,¹ ἐν
δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἠθικῶν ὡς Φωκυλίδου αὐτῆς² μέμνηται· καὶ
ἴσως καὶ Φωκυλίδης αὐτῇ³ ἐχρήσατο ἢ καὶ ὁμοίως ἀμφότεροι⁴
χρῶνται Φωκυλίδης καὶ Θεόγνις τούτῳ⁵

¹ mss θεῶν ² mss -δης αὐτοῦ ³ mss αὐτῷ ⁴ mss -ρα
⁵ mss τοῦτο

PHOCYLIDES

16

Aristotle *Nicomachean Ethics* And that is why justice or righteousness so often appears to be the best of the virtues . . and we have the saying

Righteousness containeth the sum of all virtues.

Scholast *on the passage*. This is by Theognis and runs thus (Theogn 145-7), but it ranks as a proverb and is quoted as such by Theophrastus in Book I of his treatise *On Characters*, though in the first Book of his *Ethics* he quotes it as occurring in Phocylides, and it may well have been used by him, or else by both Phocylides and Theognis

ΞΕΝΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ

Βίος

Diog. L 9. 18. Ξενοφάνης· Δεξίου ἥ, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος, Ὀρθομένους Κολοφώνιος ἐπαινείται πρὸς τοῦ Τίμωνος· φησὶ γοῦν·

Ξεινοφάνης θ' ὑπάτυφος Ὀμηροπάτης¹ ἐπικόπτης ἔα, τὸν ἀπανθρώπου θεὸν ἐπλάσατ' ἴσον ἀπάντη <ἀτρεμῇ> ἀσκηθῇ νοερώτερον ἢ ἐνόημα.²

οὗτος ἐκπεσὼν τῆς πατρίδος ἐν Ζάγκλῃ τῆς Σικελίας <διέτριβε καὶ τῆς εἰς Ἑλέαν ἀποικίας κοινωνήσας ἐκεῖ ἐδίδασκεν>,³ διέτριβε δὲ καὶ ἐν Κατάνῃ. διήκουσε δὲ κατ' ἐνίους μὲν οὐδενός, κατ' ἐνίους δὲ Βότωνος Ἀθηναίου ἥ, ὡς τινες, Ἀρχελάου. καί, ὡς Σωτίων φησί, κατ' Ἀναξίμανδρον ἦν. γέγραφε δὲ καὶ ἐν ἔπεσι καὶ ἐλεγείας καὶ ἰάμβους καθ' Ἑσιόδου καὶ Ὀμήρου, ἐπικόπτων αὐτῶν τὰ περὶ θεῶν εἰρημένα. ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐρραψώδει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ. ἀντιδοξάσαι τε λέγεται Θαλῇ καὶ Πυθαγόρᾳ, καθάψασθαι δὲ καὶ Ἐπιμενίδου. μακροβιώτατός τε γέγονεν, ὡς πού καὶ αὐτός φησιν· (fr 7)

¹ mss δμηραπάτης (Diog -την)

² ll. 2-3 in Sext. only

³ suppl. Diels

¹ the last 2 ll. occur only in Sext. Emp *Hypot* 1 224, in line 1 Diog. has the accus ² Diog. or his authority, perh. by a slip, seems to confuse Xenophanes with Xenophon

XENOPHANES

LIFE

Diogenes Laertius *Lives of the Philosophers*
Xenophanes was the son of Dexius, or according to Apollodorus, of Orthomenes, and was of Colophon. He is mentioned by Timon, who says:

Xenophanes, the faintly-modest trouncer that hath
trod
Old Homer underfoot and lo! forged an inhuman
God,
Round, motionless, sans hurt or harm, more brainy
than the brain . . .¹

Banished from his birthplace (he lived) at Zancle in Sicily, (took part in the settlement of Elea by a colony from that city, and taught there;) but he also taught at Catana. He was no man's pupil according to some writers, according to others a pupil of Boton of Athens,² according to others again, of Archelaus. Sotion makes him contemporary with Anaximander.³ Of his works some are in the epic metre, and some are elegies and iambi attacking Hesiod and Homer and denouncing what they say about the Gods. He used moreover to give public recitations of his poems. He is said to have opposed the views of Thales and Pythagoras and even assailed Epimenides.⁴ He lived to a very great age, as indeed he says himself (fr. 7).⁵

¹ 611-546 B.C. ⁴ cf. Plut *Comm Hes.* 19, Procl ad Hes
Op 284, Sch II. 2. 212 ⁵ cf. Ath quoted on p. 168

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Str. 14 643 ἄνδρες δ' ἐγένοντο Κολοφώνιοι τῶν μνημονευομένων Μίμνερμος . . . καὶ Ξενοφάνης ὁ φυσικός, ὁ τοὺς σίλλους ποιήσας διὰ ποιημάτων.

Arist ap Diog. L. 2 46 [π. Σωκράτους]· τούτῳ τίς, καθά φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ Ποιητικῆς, ἐφιλονεῖκει Ἀντίλοχος Λήμνιος . . . ὡς Σύαγρος Ὀμήρῳ ζῶντι, ἀποθανόντι δὲ Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος· καὶ Κέρκωψ Ἡσιόδῳ ζῶντι, τελευτήσαντι δὲ ὁ προειρημένος Ξενοφάνης.

Plut. *Pyth Or.* 18 οὐδὲ γὰρ φιλοσοφίαν ἀπεγινώσκομεν ὡς ἀνηρημένην παντάπασι καὶ διεφθορυῖαν, ὅτι πρότερον μὲν ἐν ποιήμασιν ἐξέφερον οἱ φιλόσοφοι τὰ δόγματα καὶ τοὺς λόγους, ὥσπερ Ὀρφεὺς καὶ Ἡσιόδος καὶ Παρμενίδης καὶ Ξενοφάνης καὶ Ἑμπεδοκλῆς καὶ Θαλῆς, ὕστερον δ' ἐπαύσαντο καὶ πέπαιυνται χρώμενοι μέτροις πλὴν σοῦ.

Id. *Com. Not.* 46 ὁ μὲν οὖν Ξενοφάνης, διηγουμένου τινος ἐγχέλεις ἑωρακένας ἐν ὕδατι θερμῷ ζώσας, 'Οὐκοῦν' εἶπεν 'ἐν ψυχρῷ αὐτὰς ἐψήσομεν.'

Id *Vit. Pud* 5 αὐθις ἕτερος παρακαλεῖ κυβεύειν παρὰ πότον· μὴ δυσωπηθῆς μηδὲ δείσης σκωπτόμενος· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ Ξενοφάνης, Λάσου τοῦ Ἑρμιονέως μὴ βουλόμενον αὐτῷ συγκυβεύειν δειλὸν ἀποκαλοῦντος, ὁμολόγει¹ καὶ πάννυ δειλὸς εἶναι πρὸς τὰ αἰσχροῦ καὶ ἄτολμος.

¹ Matthaei · mss ὁμολόγει

LIFE OF XENOPHANES

Strabo *Geography*: The famous Colophomians are these. Mimnermus . . ., and the physical philosopher Xenophanes, who wrote the Lampoons in verse.¹

Diogenes Laertius *Lives of the Philosophers*: According to the 3rd Book of Aristotle's *Poetics*, Socrates was attacked by Antilocheus of Lemnos . . . just as Homer in his lifetime by Syagrus and after his death by Xenophanes of Colophon; so too Hesiod in his lifetime by Ceicops, and after his death by the same Xenophanes.

Plutarch *The Oracles of the Delphian Priestess*: We did not despair of philosophy and give it up for lost because philosophers, instead of putting forth what they have to teach or tell in verse, like Orpheus, Hesiod, Parmenides, Xenophanes, Empedocles, and Thales, came later to abandon the use of metre, and still—with one exception, yourself—avoid it²

The Same *Common Notions against the Stoics*: When some one told Xenophanes that he had seen eels alive in hot water, he said ' If so, we shall be able to boil them in cold '

The Same *Bashfulness*: Again, suppose a fellow-guest invite you to dice with him over the wine, be not put out of countenance for fear of the gibes of the company, but like Xenophanes when Lasus of Hermionè called him a coward for refusing a like invitation, confess yourself a craven and a coward indeed when it comes to doing ill.

¹ of Apul *Fl* 4, Tz ad Dion Per 940
9 22

² cf Diog. L.

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

Plat *Soph.* 242 d ΕΛΕΑΤΗΣ ΞΕΝΟΣ· τὸ δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν Ἑλεατικὸν ἔθνος, ἀπὸ Ξενοφάνους τε καὶ ἔτι πρόσθεν ἀρξάμενον, ὡς ἐνὸς ὄντος πάντων καλουμένων οὕτω διεξέρχεται τοῖς μύθοις.

Arist *Rh.* 2. 23 1399 b 6 οἶον Ξενοφάνης ἔλεγεν ὅτι ὁμοίως ἀσεβοῦσιν οἱ γενέσθαι φάσκοντες τοὺς θεοὺς τοῖς ἀποθανεῖν λέγουσιν· ἀμφοτέρως γὰρ συμβαίνει μὴ εἶναι τοὺς θεοὺς ποτε.

Ibid 1400 b. 5 οἶον Ξενοφάνης Ἑλεάταις ἐρωτῶσιν εἰ θύωσι τῇ Λευκοθέᾳ καὶ θρηνῶσιν ἢ μὴ, συνεβούλευεν εἰ μὲν θεὸν ὑπολαμβάνουσι μὴ θρηνεῖν, εἰ δ' ἄνθρωπον μὴ θύειν.

Id. *Mir. Ausc* 38 833 a 16 [π. ῥυάκων]· τὸ δὲ ἐν Λιπάρᾳ (ἀνιὸν πῦρ) ποτὲ καὶ ἐκλιπεῖν φησι Ξενοφάνης ἐπ' ἔτη ἑκκαίδεκα, τῷ δὲ ἐβδόμῳ ἐπανελθεῖν

Cic. *Acad Pr.* 2 39 habitari ait Xenophanes in luna, eamque esse terram multarum urbium et montium

Ibid 23 74 furere tibi Empedocles videtur, at mihi dignissimum iebus is de quibus loquitur sonum fundere . . . Parmenides, Xenophanes, minus bonis quamquam versibus, sed tamen illis versibus increpant eorum arrogantiam, quasi irati, qui, cum sciri nihil possit, audeant se scire dicere.

Ael. fr. 33 ὦ Ξενοφάνεις καὶ Διαγόραι καὶ Ἱππωνες καὶ Ἐπίκουροι, καὶ πᾶς ὁ λοιπὸς κατάλογος τῶν κακοδαιμόνων τε καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν, ἔρρετε.

LIFE OF XENOPHANES

Plato *The Sophist*. ELEATIC STRANGER. Our own Eleatics, from Xenophanes' day and even earlier, have told their tales on the assumption that what we call *all* is one ¹

Aristotle *Rhetoric* Compare Xenophanes' remark that it is just as impious to say that the Gods were born as to say that they died, either statement implying their non-existence at some time or other.

The Same. Compare what Xenophanes replied to his fellow-citizens of Elea when they asked him whether or no they should make sacrifice and sing dirges for Leucothea, 'If you believe her immortal sing no dirges, if mortal make no sacrifice' ²

The Same *On Wonders* [lava-streams]. According to Xenophanes the volcano in Lipara was inactive once for sixteen years and then broke out again.

Cicero *Prior Academics* Xenophanes maintains that the moon is inhabited and that it is a land of many cities and mountains.

The Same You think Empedocles mad, but to me his sound is full worthy of his sense . . . Parmenides and Xenophanes, though their verse is not so good, use it like angry men to chide what they believe to be the arrogance of those who have the face to say they know when nothing can be known.

Aelian. You Xenophaneses, Diagoras, Hippon, Epicurus, and the rest of that God-forsaken catalogue, I bid you all go hang!

¹ cf Cic *Acad* 2 118 ² cf Plut *Superst* 13, *Amat.* 18, *Is et Os* 70, *Apophth Lac* 26

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

Luc. *Macr.* Ξενοφάνης δὲ ὁ Δεξίνου μὲν υἱὸς Ἀρχελάου δὲ τοῦ φυσικοῦ μαθητῆς ἐβίωσεν ἔτη ἕν καὶ ἐνενήκοντα.

Diog L 9 1. [π. Ἡρακλείτου]· μεγαλόφρων δὲ γέγονε παρ' ὄντιναοῦν καὶ ὑπερόπτης, ὥς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συγγράμματος αὐτοῦ δῆλον, ἐν ᾧ φησι, 'Πολυμαθὴν νόον οὐ διδάσκει· Ἡσίοδον γὰρ ἂν ἐδίδαξε καὶ Πυθαγόρην, αὐτὶς τε Ξενοφάνεά τε καὶ Ἐκκράτειον' εἶναι γὰρ ἕν τὸ σοφόν, ἐπίστασθαι γνῶμην, ὅτῃ ἐκυβέρνησε πάντα διὰ πάντων.

Ibid 9. 19 φησὶ δὲ (ὁ Ξενοφάνης) τέτταρα εἶναι τῶν ὄντων στοιχεῖα, κόσμους δ' ἀπείρους, οὐ παραλλακτοὺς δέ. τὰ νέφη συνίστασθαι τῆς ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀτμίδος ἀναφερομένης καὶ αἰρούσης αὐτὰ εἰς τὸ περιέχον. οὐσίαν θεοῦ σφαιροειδῆ, μηδὲν ὅμοιον ἔχουσιν ἀνθρώπων· ὅλον δὲ ὁρᾶν καὶ ὅλον ἀκούειν, μὴ μέντοι ἀναπνεῖν· σύμπαντά τε εἶναι νοῦν καὶ φρόνησιν καὶ αἶδιον. πρῶτόν τε ἀπεφάνητο ὅτι πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον φθαρτόν ἐστι καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ πνεῦμα.

Ibid 20 ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ Κολοφῶνος Κτίσιν, καὶ Τὸν εἰς Ἑλέαν τῆς Ἰταλίας Ἀποικισμὸν ἔπη δισχίλια. καὶ ἤκμαζε κατὰ τὴν ἐξηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. φησὶ δὲ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Γήρωνος καὶ Παναίτιος ὁ Στωικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Εὐθυμίας ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶ θάψαι τοὺς υἱεῖς αὐτόν, καθάπερ καὶ Ἀναξαγόραν. δοκεῖ δὲ

LIFE OF XENOPHANES

Lucian *Longevity*: Xenophanes, son of Dexinous and a pupil of Archelaus the physical philosopher, lived to be ninety-one.¹

Diogenes Laertius *Lives of the Philosophers*: Heraclitus was the most lofty-minded of men and haughty too, witness the book in which he says 'Much learning teacheth not understanding, or it would have taught Hesiod and Pythagoras, or again Xenophanes and Hecataeus,' for wisdom was one thing, namely to understand thought, which guided all things everywhere.

The Same: Xenophanes declares that there are four elements, and worlds innumerable but not contiguous.² Clouds are made when the vapour from the sun is carried upwards and lifts them into 'that which encompasses.' The substance of God is spherical, in no way resembling man. He is all eye and all ear, but does not breathe. He is the totality of mind and thought, and is eternal. Xenophanes was the first to declare that everything which comes into existence is destructible, and that the soul is breath.³

The Same Xenophanes wrote a poem too, called *The Founding of Colophon*, and another called *The Colonising of Elea in Italy*, 2000 lines in all. He flourished in the 60th Olympiad (540-37 B.C.)⁴ According to Demetrius of Phaleron in his *Old Age* and Panaetius the Stoic in his *Cheerfulness*, he buried his sons with his own hands, like Anaxagoras. He

¹ cf. Censor 15 3 ² or overlapping ³ the translation closely follows R. D. Hicks ⁴ Jerome gives 532, Euseb. 550 and 544 (Arm. version 540); Apollod. ap. Clem. Al. *Str.* 1 353 puts his birth as early as Ol. 40 (620-17 B.C.), cf. Sext. Emp. *Math.* 1 257

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πεπρᾶσθαι ὑπὸ . . . <καὶ λέλυσθαι ὑπὸ>¹ τῶν
Πυθαγορικῶν Παρμενίσκου καὶ Ὀρεστάδου, καθά-
φησι Φαβωρίνος ἐν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων πρώτῳ.

See also Suid *Ξενοφάνης*, Plut. *Reg. Apoph. Hiero*
4, *Vit. Hom.* 2 93, Gal. *Hist* 3, Str 12 550, Philo

ΞΕΝΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ

ΕΛΕΓΕΙΩΝ

1

Ath 11. 462c ὁρῶν οὖν ὑμῶν καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ συμπόσιον κατὰ τὸν
Κολοφώνιον *Ξενοφάνη* πλήρες ὃν πάσης θυμηδίας

- νῦν γὰρ δὴ ζάπεδον καθαρὸν καὶ χεῖρες ἀπάντων
καὶ κύλικες· πλεκτοὺς δ' ἀμφιτιθεῖ² στεφάνους,
ἄλλος δ' εὐῶδες μύρον ἐν φιάλῃ παρατείνει·
κρητῆρ δ' ἔστηκεν μεστὸς εὐφροσύνης·
5 ἄλλος δ' οἶνος³ ἑτοῖμος, ὃς οὔ ποτέ φησι προδώσειν,
μείλιχος ἐν κεράμοις ἄνθεος ὁσδόμενος·⁴
ἐν δὲ μέσοις ἀγνὴν ὁδμὴν λιβανωτὸς ἴησι,
ψυχρὸν δ' ἔστιν ὕδωρ καὶ γλυκὺ καὶ καθαρὸν·
πάρκεινται δ' ἄρτοι ξανθοὶ γεραρὴ τε τράπεζα
10 τυροῦ καὶ μέλιτος πίονος ἀχθομένη·
βωμός δ' ἄνθεσιν ἂν τὸ μέσον⁵ πάντῃ πεπύκασται
μολπῇ δ' ἀμφὶς ἔχει δώματα καὶ θαλή.
χρὴ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν θεὸν ὑμνεῖν εὐφρονας⁶ ἄνδρας
εὐφήμεις μύθοις καὶ καθαροῖσι λόγοις·
15 σπείσαντας δὲ καὶ εὐξαμένους τὰ δίκαια δύνασθαι
πρήσσειν—ταῦτα γὰρ ὦν ἐστὶ προχειρότερον—⁷

¹ suppl. Diels ² Dind mss -τιθεῖς ³ mss insert
ἐστιν ⁴ Herm ὁζόμε ⁵ Karsten mss αὐτὸ μέσον

⁶ ὑμνὲν (so some mss) εὐφρονας ⁷ corrupt?

XENOPHANES

seems to have been sold into slavery by . . . (and set free by) the Pythagoreans Parmeniscus and Orestades, if we may believe Favorinus in the 1st Book of his *Memorials*.

Prov. 2 39, *Ath.* 14 632 d (quoted p. 226), *Sext. Emp. Math.* i 257, *Clem. Al. Str.* 353 (301 e), *Theol. Arith.* 40 Ast

XENOPHANES

ELEGIAC POEMS

1

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner* ¹ Since, then, I see your banquet, as Xenophanes of Colophon says, 'full of all kinds of pleasure' ²

For now the floor is clean, and the hands of every guest, and the cups; one lad puts woven wreaths about our heads, another brings round a jug of fragrant perfume; the mixing-bowl stands full of good cheer, and other wine, which vows it will never play false, ³ is ready in the jar, mild to the taste and sweet to smell. In the midst frankincense gives forth its sacred odour and water stands cool and sweet and clear. Before us lie yellow loaves and a noble trayful of cheese and rich honey. The altar between is decked all about with flowers, and the house is filled with song ⁴ and feasting. Now first must merry men hymn the God in holy story and pure word; then when they have made libation and prayed for power to do what is right—and that is their first duty ⁵—

¹ cf Eust 1633 53 (ll 4-8) ² these words are prob. an adaptation of part of the couplet preceding the citation

³ i.e. run short (H Williams cf Hdt 8. 52, 7 187)

⁴ prob includes dancing, as sometimes in the *Iliad*, e.g. 7. 241 ⁵ perh corrupt

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οὐχ ὕβρις πίνειν ὅπόσον κεν ἔχων ἀφίκοιο
οἴκαδ' ἄνευ προπόλου μὴ πάνυ γηραλέος.
ἀνδρῶν δ' αἰνέω¹ τοῦτον, ὃς ἐσθλὰ πίων ἀναφαίνη,²
20 ὥς οἱ³ μνημοσύνη καὶ τόνος ἀμφ' ἀρετῆς·⁴
οὔτε μάχας διέπει⁵ Τιτήνων οὔτε Γυγάντων,
οὐδέ <τι>⁶ Κενταύρων, πλάσματα τῶν προτέ-
ρων,⁷
ἢ στάσιος σφεδανὰς·⁸ τοῖς οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἔνεστι·
θεῶν <δὲ>⁹ προμηθείην αἰὲν ἔχειν ἀγαθόν.¹⁰

2

Ibid 10 413f καὶ οὐδὲν παράδοξον τούτους τοὺς ἄνδρας
ἀδηφάγους γενέσθαι πάντες γὰρ οἱ ἀθλοῦντες μετὰ τῶν γυμνασ-
μάτων καὶ ἐσθίειν πολλὰ διδάσκονται διὸ καὶ Εὐριπίδης ἐν τῷ
πρώτῳ Αὐτολύκῳ λέγει 'κακῶν γὰρ ὄντων μυρίων καθ' Ἑλλάδα |
οὐδὲν κάκιον ἐστὶν ἀθλητῶν γένους,' κτλ ταῦτ' εἰληφέν δ'
Εὐριπίδης ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Κολοφωνίου Ἑλεγεῖων Ξενοφάνους οὕτως
ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ταχυτῆτι ποδῶν νίκην τις ἄροιτο
ἢ πενταθλεύων, ἔνθα Διὸς τέμενος
παρ Πίσαιο ροῆς ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ, εἴτε παλαίων
ἢ καὶ πυκτοσύνην ἀλγινόεσσαν ἔχων,
5 εἴτε τὸ¹¹ δεινὸν ἄεθλον δ' παγκράτιον καλέουσιν,
ἀστοῖσιν κ' εἴη κυδρότερος¹² προσορᾶν,¹³
καί κε προεδρίην φανερὴν ἐν ἀγῶσιν ἄροιτο,
καὶ κεν σῖτ' εἴη δημοσίων κτεάνων
ἐκ πόλιος καὶ δῶρον ὃ οἱ κειμήλιον εἴη·
10 εἴτε καὶ ἵπποισιν, ταῦτά κε πάντα¹⁴ λάχοι,

¹ E. mss -νεῖν (from πίνειν above?) ² Herm mss -νει
³ Schn mss ἡ ⁴ Sitz cf Pind P. 11 54 mss τὸν ὅς κτλ
⁵ mss also -πειν ⁶ Ludw. ⁷ Schw, mss πλασμάτων
πρ or omit. Herm φλάσματα τ π, cf Hesych φλασμός· τύφος
⁸ Osann. mss φενδόνας ⁹ Scal ¹⁰ Herm mss -θήν
¹¹ Wakef. mss τι ¹² Steph. mss κεδρ ¹³ Jac: mss

XENOPHANES

there's no wrong in drinking just so much as will bring any but the very aged home without a servant. And I praise the man who when he hath drunken showeth that he hath a good memory, and hath striven well in pursuit of virtue; he marshals not battles of Titans nor of Giants nor yet of Centaurs, fables¹ of them of old, nay nor of vehement discords;² these things are of no worth; what is good, is ever to have respect unto the Gods³

2

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner* There is nothing surprising in the gluttony of these men. All competitors in the Games are taught to eat heavily as well as to practise; and that is why Euripides says in his first *Autolycus*⁴ 'Of all the evil things that Greece is heir to | There's none so great as he that strives in games' etc.—sentiments which are taken from the *Elegiacs* of Xenophanes of Colophon, who says

But if 't were in swiftness of foot that a man should win the day, in the close of Zeus by Pisa's stream at Olympia, or if 't were in the five-events or the wrestling, or if he should hold his own in the painful boxing-bout, or the dire contest that they call Pan-cratiūm—whatever it were, he would be more honoured of the eyes of his fellow-townsmen; he would win the prominent right of sitting at the front in the games and contests, there would be food for him from the city's store and a gift to make him an heirloom. Or if again his victory were with horses,

¹ or emending the *Gk* vapourings ² ref. to Hesiod and
Alcaeus (Diels) ³ cf Eust. 1299 22 ⁴ fr 282 N

προσεραν (πρὸς ἀέραν, ἄκρα)
κάπαντα, χ' (γ') ἅπαντα

¹⁴ Schw. mss κ' εἴπαντα,

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

- οὐκ ἔων ἄξιος, ὥσπερ ἐγώ· ῥώμης γὰρ ἀμείνων
 ἀνδρῶν ἥδ' ἵππων ἡμετέρη σοφίη·
 ἀλλ' εἰκὴ μάλα ταῦτα νομίζεται· οὐδὲ δίκαιον
 προκρίνειν ῥώμην ἡγαθέης¹ σοφίης.
- 15 οὔτε γὰρ εἰ πύκτης ἀγαθὸς λαοῖσι μετείη,²
 οὔτ' εἰ πενταθλεῖν, οὔτε παλαισμοσύνην,
 οὐδὲ μὲν εἰ ταχυτῆτι³ ποδῶν, τό πέρ ἐστι πρότιμον
 ῥώμης ὅσσ' ἀνδρῶν ἔργ' ἐν ἀγῶνι πέλει,
 τοῦνεκεν ἂν⁴ δὴ μᾶλλον ἐν εὐνομίῃ πόλις εἴη·
- 20 σμικρὸν δ' ἂν τι πόλει χάρμα γένοιτ' ἐπὶ τῷ,
 εἴ τις ἀεθλεύων νικῶ Πίσαςο παρ' ὄχθας·
 οὐ γὰρ πιαίνει ταῦτα μυχοὺς πόλιος.

3

Ibid. 12 526a Κολοφώνιοι δ', ὡς φησι Φύλαρχος, τὴν ἀρχὴν
 ὄντες σκληροὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀγωγαῖς, ἐπεὶ εἰς τρυφὴν ἐξώκειλαν πρὸς
 Λυδοὺς φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν ποιησάμενοι, προήεσαν διησκημένοι
 τὰς κόμας χρυσῇ κόσμῳ, ὡς καὶ Ξενοφάνης φησίν·

ἀβροσύνας⁵ δὲ μαθόντες ἀνωφελέας παρὰ Λυδῶν,
 ὄφρα τυραννίης ἦσαν ἄνευ στυγερῆς,⁶
 ἦϊσαν⁷ εἰς ἀγορὴν παναλουργέα φάρε' ἔχοντες
 οὐ μείους ὥσπερ⁸ χίλιοι εἰς ἐπίπαν,
 αὐχαλέοι χαίτησιν ἀγαλμένοι εὐπρεπέεσσιν⁹
 ἀσκητοῖς <τ'>¹⁰ ὁδμὴν χρίμασι δευόμενοι.

οὕτω δ' ἐξελύθησαν διὰ τὴν ἔκαιρον μέθην ὥστε τινὲς αὐτῶν οὔτε
 ἀνατέλλοντα τὸν ἥλιον οὔτε δυόμενον ἑωράκασι¹¹

¹ E: mss τῆς ἀγαθῆς (from below?) ² Steph mss λαοῖ-
 σιν ἔτ' εἴη ³ -τῆτα? ⁴ mss also ἔρ ⁵ Schneid:
 mss ἀφρ ⁶ Dind mss ἡσανεν (εὖ-, ἐπι) στ. ⁷ Mein
 mss ἦσαν ⁸ ἡ ὥσπερ?: mss also ἦπερ but cf. Sol 36 18
⁹ Wil, cf ἄρχμενος, δέγμενος mss ἀγαλλόμενοι, ἀγαλλόμεν
 (ἀγάλλομεν) for εὐπρ perh. read εὐχρύσαισι E, cf. Ath.
¹⁰ E ¹¹ e g οὐδέ τις ἥλιον εἶδεν ἀκαίριον οἰνοποτάζων | οὔτε
 ποτ' ἀντέλλοντ' οὔτ' ἄρα δυόμενον (E)

XENOPHANES

then too all this would fall to him—yet it would not be deserved as 't would be were it mine, for the poet's skill is better than the strength of men and horses. 'Tis very unconsidered, the custom of man in this matter; it is not right that strength should be judged worthier than most holy¹ skill. For not though a city had a good boxer, nor a five-event-man, nor a good wrestler, nor yet a good runner—which of all the deeds of man's strength hath the greatest honour in the Games—never for that would she be the better ordered; and but little is the joy a town would get in a man's victory beside the banks of Pisa, for a city's treasure-houses are not fattened so.

3

The Same: According to Phylarchus, the Colophonians, who, originally a people of rough and uncouth manners, ran on the rocks of luxury when they became the friends and allies of the Lydians, walked abroad with their hair adorned with an ornament of gold, in the words of Xenophanes :

But they learnt useless luxuries of the Lydians while they were free of hateful despotism, and went into the marketplace clad in all-purple robes, went not less than a thousand in all,² proudly rejoicing in gold-adorned³ hair and bedewing their odour with studied anointings;

and so demoralised were they by untimely drunkenness that some of them never saw sun rise or set⁴

¹ reading doubtful ² apparently, after expelling the Lydians, the free citizens fixed their number at a thousand, Diels compares Heracl. Πολιῶν ἑκατὶ (Κυμαίων) χιλίους παρέδωκε τὴν πολιτείαν; 'went into the marketplace clad in' simply means 'began going about in,' as we should say, cf. Arist. Pol. 1290 b 15 ³ or keeping the Gk. comely ⁴ this sentence seems to be largely a paraphrase of Xen.

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

4

Ibid. 11. 782a (in 18 K) ἔθος δ' ἦν πρότερον ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ
ὑδωρ ἐμβάλλεσθαι, μεθ' ὃ τὸν οἶνον. Ξενοφάνης·

οὐδὲ κεν ἐν κύλικι πρότερον κεράσειέ τις οἶνον
ἐγχεύας,¹ ἀλλ' ὑδωρ καὶ καθύπερθε μέθυ.

5

Ibid. 9. 368d καὶ κωλῆνα δὲ λέγουσι καὶ κωλῆν . . 'Αριστο-
φάνης Πλούτῳ δευτέρῳ· 'οἷμοι δὲ κωλῆς ἦν ἐγὼ κατήσθιον' . .
καὶ Ξενοφάνης δ' ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν τοῖς Ἑλεγείοις φησὶ

πέμψας γὰρ κωλῆν ἐρίφου σκέλος ἦραο πῖον
ταύρου λαρινοῦ, τίμιον ἀνδρὶ λαχεῖν,
τοῦ κλέος Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ἐφίξεται² οὐδ' ἀπολήξει
ἔστ' ἂν ἀοιδάων³ ἧ γένος Ἑλλαδικόν.

6, 6A

Diog. L. 8 8 20 περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλοτ' ἄλλον αὐτὸν (Πυθαγόραν)
γεγενῆσθαι Ξενοφάνης ἐν ἐλεγείᾳ προσμαρτυρεῖ, ἥς ἀρχή

Νῦν αὖτ'⁴ ἄλλον ἔπειμι λόγον, δείξω δὲ κέλευθον.
ὃ δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν, οὕτως ἔχει·

καὶ ποτέ μιν στυφελιζομένου σκύλακος παριόντα
φασὶν ἐποικτῖραι καὶ τότε φάσθαι ἔπος·
Παῦσαι μηδὲ ράπιζ', ἐπεὶ ἡ⁵ φίλου ἀνέρος ἐστὶν
ψυχή, τὴν ἔγνω φθεγξαμένης αἰών.

καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ξενοφάνης.

¹ Cas. mss ἐγχεύας ² Karsten: mss ἀφ ³ B ἀοιδόφωνων
⁴ Steph. mss νῦν οὖν τ' ⁵ B: mss ἐπειὴ (A P. ἐπεὶ ἡ)

XENOPHANES

4

The Same. It was the custom to pour water into the cup first and then wine; compare Xenophanes:

Nor would a man pour wine first into the cup when he mingled it, but water and thereafter the liquor.

5

The Same: They use the forms *καλῆνα* and *καλῆν*, 'hind-quarter' . . . compare Aristophanes in the second *Plutus* (l. 1128) : 'Alas for the hindquarter I ate . . .' and Xenophanes of Colophon in the *Elegiacs* .

Though you gave but the hindquarter of a kid, you received the rich leg of a fat bull,¹ a precious thing to fall to a man's lot, a gift whose fame will spread throughout Greece nor ever die so long as the Grecian sort of song shall be.²

6, 6A³

Diogenes Laertius *Lives of the Philosophers* [Pythagoras]. To the inconsistency of his ways we have additional testimony in Xenophanes, who in the Elegy which begins:

And now I will pass to another tale, and show another way;

tells us this of him

And 'tis said that one day as he was passing by when they beat a dog, he took pity on him and said 'Stop! beat him not, for verily 'tis the soul of a friend whose voice I know when I hear it.'

So far Xenophanes.

¹ metaphorical, the gift was prob a poem or book of poems by the author ² this may be addressed to Simonides (so Diels, who compares Sch. Ar. *Pac.* 697) ³ cf. *A.P.* 7. 120 (ll. 1-4), Suid. *Ξενοφάνης* (1-3) and *συμφερίζαι*

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

7

Ibid. 9 2 3 [π Ξενοφάνους]· μακροβιώτατός τε γέγονεν, ὥς
που καὶ αὐτός φησιν·

ἦδη δ' ἐπτά τ' ἔασι καὶ ἐξήκοντ' ἐνιαυτοὶ
βληστρίζοντες ἐμὴν φροντίδ' ἀν' Ἑλλάδα γῆν·
ἐκ γενετῆς δὲ τότε ἦσαν ἐείκοσι πέντε τε πρὸς τοῖς,
εἴπερ ἐγὼ περὶ τῶνδ' ¹ οἶδα λέγειν ἐτύμως.

8

Et. Mag. Vet. γῆρας ἡ μετοχὴ γηρεῖς . . ἡ γενικὴ γηρέντος
ὥσπερ τιθέντος· Ξενοφάνης ²

ἀνδρὸς γηρέντος ³ πολλὸν ἀφαιυρότερος

9

Poll 9. 83 εἶτε Φεῖδων πρῶτος ὁ Ἀργεῖος ἔκοψε νόμισμα . .
εἶτε Λυδοί, καθά φησι Ξενοφάνης.

ΣΙΛΛΩΝ

10

Hdn π διχρ *Gram. Gr.* 2 1. 16 19 οἱ μέντοι ποιηταὶ
πολλάκις ἐπὶ τούτοις συστολὰς ποιοῦνται, ὥς παρὰ Ξενοφάνει

ἐξ ἀρχῆς καθ' Ὁμηρον ἐπεὶ μεμαθήκασιν πάντες
καὶ πάλιν (fr 36)

¹ *Apost.* τῶν, cf. *Tyrt.* 4. 10
² *A. O.* γηρόντος

³ *Sylb* mss Ξενοφῶν

¹ cf. *Apost* 8. 42 r and fr. 42 below ² i.e. his philosophic poetry
³ this is thought to mean (Diels) that he left Ionia owing to its conquest by Harpagus (c. 545 B.C., which

XENOPHANES

7¹

The Same [Xenophanes]: He lived to a very great age, as indeed he himself tells us:

Seven and sixty years have now been wafting my meditations² about the land of Greece, and ere that there were five-and-twenty years from my birth, if I know how to tell the truth in these things.³

8⁴

Old Etymologicum Magnum γῆρας 'old age'. The participle γηρεῖς 'aged'. genitive γηρέντος like τιθέντος, compare Xenophanes

far feebler than an aged man

9

Pollux *Onomasticon*: Whether the first to strike a coinage was Pheidon of Argos . . ., or the Lydians, as Xenophanes declares.

LAMPOONS⁵

10⁶

Herodian *On 'Doubtful' Syllables*.⁷ The poets however often gave these forms (third persons plural of the perfect active) the short α, compare Xenophanes:

Since all have learnt in Homer in the beginning⁸ and again: (fr. 36).

would make the date of this poem c 478 and his age 92)
⁴ cf Cram *A O.* 4. 339 ⁵ cf p 205 n. 2 ⁶ the numeration of the remaining fragments (not given by B) is that of Diels *Vors.* 1. 59 ff ⁷ cf Ibid. καθ' προσωδ Gr Gr 535 30 ⁸ Diels continues 'that the Gods are wicked,' cf. fr. 11

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

11

Sext Emp *adv Math* 9 193 *ἔνθεν καὶ ὁ Ξενοφάνης
διελέγχων τοὺς περὶ Ὅμηρον καὶ Ἡσίοδον φησι·*

*πάντα θεοῖς ἀνέθηκαν Ὅμηρός θ' Ἡσίοδος τε,
ὅσσα παρ' ἀνθρώποισιν οὐκ εἶδεα καὶ ψόγος ἐστίν,
κλέπτειν μοιχεύειν τε καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀπατεύειν.*

12

Ibid 1 289 *Ὅμηρος δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδος κατὰ τὸν Κολοφώνιον
Ξενοφάνη*

*οἱ¹ πλεῖστ' ἐφθέγγαντο θεῶν ἀθεμίστια ἔργα,
κλέπτειν μοιχεύειν τε καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀπατεύειν.*

13

A. Gell 3. 11 alii Homerum quam Hesiodum maiorem
natu fuisse scripserunt, in quibus Philochorus et Xenophanes,
alii minorem

14, 15

Clem. Al *Str* 5. 109 2 (after fr 23) *καὶ πάλιν*

*ἀλλ' οἱ βροτοὶ δοκέουσι γεννᾶσθαι θεοὺς
τὴν σφετέρην ἐσθῆτα <τ>² ἔχειν φωνὴν τε δέμας τε.
καὶ πάλιν*

*εἰ <δέ> τοι <ἵπποι> ἔχον χέρας ἢ βόες ἢ λέοντες³
ἢ γράψαι χροίῃσι⁴ καὶ ἔργα τελεῖν ἅπερ ἄνδρες,
καὶ <κε>⁵ θεῶν ιδέας ἔγραφον καὶ σώματ' ἐποίουν
τοιαῦθ' οἷόν περ καὶ οἱ δέμας εἶχον ἕκαστοι,⁶
ἵπποι μὲν θ' ἵπποισι, βόες δέ τε βουσίην ὁμοῖα.⁷*

¹ Steph mss δς (as though referring to Ξενοφάνη)

² Karsten mss δ' ἐσθ.

³ Ludw-E all citations
ἀλλ' εἰ and χεῖρας and omit ἵπποι, Eus omits τοι, Clem
Theod have εἶχον, for ἢ λέοντες some mss of Theod ἢ
ἐλέφαντες ⁴ Diels, cf. fr 16: all cit χεῖρεςσι. ⁵ Sylb.

⁶ Hiller, cf. fr 16: mss ὁμοῖον (from l 3') ⁷ E; Clem.

XENOPHANES

11

Sextus Empiricus *Against the Mathematicians*. Hence Xenophanes' refutation of Homer and Hesiod.

Homer and Hesiod have ascribed unto the Gods all that is reproach and blame in the world of men, stealing and adultery and deceit.¹

12

The Same Compare Xenophanes of Colophon, speaking of Homer and Hesiod.

who spake of manifold wickednesses of the Gods, stealing and adultery and deceit.

13

Aulus Gellus *Attic Nights* Some make Homer senior to Hesiod, for instance Philochorus and Xenophanes, others junior.

14, 15²

Clement of Alexandria *Miscellanies*. And again —

But mortals seem to have begotten Gods to have their own garb and voice and form³

And again :

Now if horses or oxen or lions had hands or power to paint and make the works of art that men make, then would horses give their Gods horse-like forms in painting or sculpture, and oxen ox-like forms, even each after its own kind.

¹ cf. Diog. L. 2. 46 ² cf. Euseb. *Praep. Ev* 13. 13. 36, Theodoret *Graec. Aff. Cur* 3 72 ³ for metre cf. fr. 42, the *Margites*, Hor. *Epod* 16, and Diog. L. 9 18 (Crus)

Eus. *ἁμοῖοι*, Th. *ὁμ. ἰα.* : this line precedes l. 3 in the citations (transp. E)

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

16

Ibid 7 22 Ἑλληνες δὲ ὥσπερ ἀνθρωπομόρφους οὕτως καὶ ἀνθρωποπαθεῖς τοὺς θεοὺς ὑποτίθενται, καὶ καθάπερ τὰς μορφὰς αὐτῶν ὁμοίας ἑαυτοῖς ἑκαστοὶ διαζωγραφοῦσιν, ὥς φησιν ὁ Ξενοφάνης

Αἰθίοπές τε <θεοὺς σφετέρους> σιμοὺς μέλανάς τε¹
Θρηῆκές τε γλαυκοὺς καὶ πυρρούς <φασι πελέσθαι>.²
οὕτως καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ὁμοιοῦσιν καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς <πάθεσιν ἐνεχο-
μένους> ² ἀναπλάττουσιν.

17

Sch. Ar Eq 408 Βάκχον δὲ οὐ τὸν Διόνυσον ἐκάλουν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας τοὺς τελοῦντας τὰ ὄργια Βάκχους ἐκάλουν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς κλάδους οὓς οἱ μύσται φέρουσι μέμνηται δὲ Ξενοφάνης ἐν Σίλλοις οὕτως

ἐστᾶσιν δ' ἐλάτης <Βάκχοι> ³ πυκινὸν περὶ δῶμα.

18

Stob. Ecl 1. 8 2 [π χρόνου οὐσίας καὶ μερῶν καὶ πόσων εἴη αἴτιος] Ξενοφάνους

Οὔτοι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς πάντα θεοὶ θνητοῖς ὑπέδειξαν,
ἀλλὰ χρόνῳ ζητοῦντες ἐφευρίσκουσιν ἄμεινον.

19

Diog L i 23 [π Θάλεω] δοκεῖ δὲ κατὰ τινες πρῶτος ἀστρολογῆσαι καὶ ἡλιακὰς ἐκλείψεις καὶ τροπὰς προειπεῖν . . ὕθεν αὐτὸν καὶ Ξενοφάνης καὶ Ἡρόδοτος θανμάζει.

20

Ibid 1. 111 [π. Ἐπιμενίδου] καὶ ἐπανελθὼν ἐπ' οἴκου μετ' οὐ πολὺ μετήλλαξεν, ὥς φησι Φλέγων, βιοὺς ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν ὥς δὲ Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἀκηκοέναι φησι, τέτταρα πρὸς τοῖς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν

¹ Diels: mss τε μελ σιμ τε ² Diels ³ Wachs ,
cf. Eur. Bacch. 110, Hesych Βάκχος mss ἐλάτη

XENOPHANES

16¹

The Same : The Greeks give their Gods human passions as well as human shape, and even as each race of men depict their forms like their own—in the words of Xenophanes :

The Aethiop saith that his Gods are snub-nosed and black, the Thracian that his have blue eyes and red hair—

even so they represent their souls and imagine them possessed by the same emotions.

17

Scholiast on Aristophanes *Bacchus* was the name given not only to Dionysus but to all the participators in his rites, and even to the branches carried by the votaries. Compare Xenophanes in the *Lampoons* :

Bacchi of pine stand all around the firm-built house.

18²

Stobaeus *Physical Selections* [on the nature of Time and its parts, and of how much it is the cause] Xenophanes.—

The Gods vouchsafed not unto man knowledge of all things from the beginning, but he seeketh and in course of time inventeth what is better.

19

Diogenes Laertius *Lives of the Philosophers* . According to some writers Thales was the first to study astronomy and to foretell the eclipses of the sun and fix the solstices. . . . Which is the reason why he is so wonderful to Xenophanes and Herodotus.

20

The Same : Returning home, Epimenides shortly after passed away, at the age, according to Phlegon, of a hundred and fifty-seven . . . Xenophanes of Colophon, speaking as he says from hearsay, makes it a hundred and fifty-four.

¹ cf. Theodoret *Gr. Aff. C.* 3 73 ² cf. Stob. *Fl.* 29. 41

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

21

Sch Ar Ραι 697 [ἐκ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους γίγνεται Σιμωνίδης] ὁ Σιμωνίδης διεβέβλητο ἐπὶ φιλαργυρίᾳ . . χαριέντως δὲ πάνυ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ διέσυρε . . ¹ καὶ μέμνηται ὅτι σμικρόλογος ἦν ὅθεν Ξενοφάνης

κίμβικα

αὐτὸν προσαγορεύει.

21A

Hdn. π. μ λ. 7 11 καὶ παρὰ Ξενοφάνει ἐν τετάρτῳ Σίλλων²

καί <κ'> ³ ἐπιθυμήσειε νέος νῆς ἀμφιπόλοιο.

21B

Sch Hom. Oxyrh. Pap. 1087 40 τὸ

Ἔρυκος

παρὰ Ξενοφάνει ἐν ε' Σίλλων

22

Ath. 2 54e [π. ἐρεβίνθων]· Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν Παρωδίαῖς⁴

πὰρ πυρὶ χρὴ τοιαῦτα λέγειν χειμῶνος ἐν ὄρῃ
ἐν κλίνῃ μαλακῇ κατακείμενον, ἔμπλεον ὄντα,
πίνοντα γλυκὺν οἶνον, ἐπιτρώγοντ' ἐρεβίνθους· ⁵
' τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν, πόσα τοι ἔτε' ἐστί, φέριστε;
πηλίκος ἦσθ' ὅθ' ὁ Μῆδος ἀφίκετο ; '

¹ here the mss add β' τοῦ ἱαμβοποιῶν, see opp. ² Seid · mss Ἀριστοφάνει ἐν δινσίλλων (i.e. δωι σ) and corruptions

³ Dind.

⁴ Menagius : mss -δαις, cf. Euseb. Chron Ol 59

⁵ Cor : mss ὑποτρ. ἐρ.

XENOPHANES

21

Scholiast on Aristophanes ['Sophocles is changing into Simonides'] Simonides was accused of miserliness . . . Aristophanes very wittily ridicules them both in the same sentence .¹ and records that he was niggardly; hence Xenophanes calls him a

skinflint

21A

Herodian *On Peculiarities* . . . and in Xenophanes in the 4th Book of the *Lampoons*

Then would a young man come to desire a young serving-maid.

21B

Scholiast on Homer The form

Erycus

for Eryx is found in the 5th Book of Xenophanes' *Lampoons*

22

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner* [on chick-pease]. Compare Xenophanes of Colophon in the *Parodies* ²

Such things should be said beside the fire in winter-time when a man reclines full-fed on a soft couch drinking the sweet wine and munching chick-pease,—such things as Who and whence art thou?³ and how old art thou, good sir? of what age wast thou when the Mede⁴ came?

¹ the gap contains in the mss the words 'b (2nd Book *) of the iambic poet,' apparently the remains of some reference to Simonides (often called Simonides) of Amorgos, to whom however the sequel can hardly refer ² perh the original title of the *Lampoons* ³ from Homer ⁴ Harpagus to conquer Ionia in 545 B C, cf fr 7

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

ΠΕΡΙ ΦΥΣΙΟΣ

23

Clem. Al. 5 109 εὖ γοῦν καὶ Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος,
διδάσκων ὅτι εἷς καὶ ἀσώματος ὁ θεός, ἐπιφέρει

Εἷς θεὸς ἔν τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισι μέγιστος,
οὗ τι δέμας θνητοῖσιν ὁμοίῳς οὔτε νόημα.

24

Sext Emp. αἰν. Math. 9. 144 εἰ γὰρ ἐστι τὸ θεῖον, ζῶν
ἐστιν· εἰ <δὲ> ζῶν ἐστιν ὁρᾷ ὅλος·

οὗλος ὁρᾷ, οὗλος δὲ νοεῖ, οὗλος δέ τ' ἀκούει.

25

Simpl Phys. 23. 19 D [π τοῦ παντός] καὶ πάντα νοεῖν δέ φησιν
αὐτὸ λέγων (ὁ Ξενοφάνης)·

ἀλλ' ἀπάνευθε πόνοιο νοῶν¹ φρενὶ πάντα κραδαίνει.

26

Ibid. 22 9 ὥστε καὶ ὅταν ἐν ταύτῳ μῖνεν λέγη (ὁ Ξενοφάνης)
καὶ μὴ κινεῖσθαι·

αἰεὶ δ' ἐν ταύτῳ μῖμνεν κινεῦμενος οὐδέν,
οὐδὲ μετέρχεσθαι μιν ἐπιπρέπει ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ·
οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν κτλ

¹ E: mss νόου

XENOPHANES

ON NATURE

23¹

Clement of Alexandria *Miscellanies* : Well says Xenophanes of Colophon when he teaches that God is one, and without body

There's one God greatest among Gods and men,
who is like to mortals neither in form nor mind²

24³

Sextus Empiricus *Against the Mathematicians* . For if the divine exists it is a living thing, and if it is a living thing it sees with all of itself :

is all eye, all mind, all ear.

25

Simplicius on Aristotle *Physics* [on the All] And Xenophanes declares that it perceives everything, in these words .

but without toil it perceiveth and agitateth all things with its mind.

26

The Same So that when Xenophanes says that the All stays in the same place and does not move—

It ever abideth in one place and never moveth,
nor doth it beseem it to go now this way and now that;

—he does not mean, etc.

¹ cf Euseb *Praep Ev* 13 13. 36 ² Diels points out that the ref. here is to the heavens, comparing Arist. *Met.* 986 b. 18 ³ cf. Diog. L. 9. 19 (quoted p. 188)

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

27

Aet. ap. Theodoret 4. 5 R ἐκ τῆς γῆς φύναι ἅπαντα εἴρηκεν
(ὁ Ξενοφάνης) αὐτοῦ γὰρ δὴ τόδε τὸ ἔπος ἐστίν

ἐκ γαίης γὰρ πάντα καὶ εἰς γῆν πάντα τελευτᾷ.

28

Ach. Isag. 4 p. 34. 11 Maass Ξενοφάνης δὲ οὐκ οἶεται μετέωρον
εἶναι τὴν γῆν, ἀλλὰ κάτω εἰς ἄπειρον καθήκειν γαίης μὲν γὰρ
φησι, κτλ.

γαίης μὲν τόδε πεῖρας ἄνω παρὰ ποσσὶν ὁράται
ἡέρι¹ προσπλάζον, τὸ κάτω δ' ἐς ἄπειρον ἱκνεῖται.

29

Philop ad Phys 1 5 p 125. 27 Vit. ὁ Πορφύριος φησι τὸν
Ξενοφάνην τὸ ξηρὸν καὶ τὸ ὑγρὸν δοξάσαι ἀρχάς, τὴν γῆν λέγω καὶ
τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ χρῆσιν αὐτοῦ παρατίθεται τοῦτο δηλοῦσαν

γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ πάντ' ἐσθ' ὅσα γίνοντ' ἡδὲ φύονται.

30

Sch Gen. in Il. 21. 196 Nicole 1 199 [ἐκ Κράτητος] Ξενο-
φάνης ἐν τῷ Περὶ Φύσεως

πηγὴ δ' ἐστὶ θάλασσοῦ ὕδατος, πηγὴ δ' ἀνέμοιο·
οὔτε γὰρ ἦν ἀνεμός κεν² ἀνευ πόντου μέγαλοιο
οὔτε ῥοαὶ ποταμῶν οὔτ' αἰ<θέρος>³ ὄμβριον ὕδωρ,
ἀλλὰ μέγας πόντος γενέτωρ νεφέων ἀνέμων τε
καὶ ποταμῶν.

¹ Diels mss καὶ ῥεῖ
ἔσωθεν ³ suppl. Nic.

² E, cf Stob : ms γὰρ ἐν νέφεσιν

¹ cf Sext Emp. Math. 10. 313, Hippol. Refut 10. 6, Stob. Ecl 1. 10. 12 (ἐν τῷ Π. Φύσεως), Sch Ven. Il. 7. 99
208

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27¹

Aëtius in Theodoret *On Matter and the Universe* : Xenophanes declares that everything comes of earth, for this is what he himself says

For all things come of earth and in earth all things end.

28

Achilles *Introduction to Aratus Phaenomena* . Xenophanes does not believe that the earth is suspended in space, but holds that it extends downwards to infinity

This end of the earth we see above at our feet where it approacheth the air; the lower goeth to the unending.

29²

Philoponus on Aristotle *Physics* Porphyrius however declares that Xenophanes held that dryness and wetness, by which I mean earth and water, were 'elements' or first principles, and quotes this line of his to prove it .

Whatever becomes and grows, it is all earth and water.

30³

Scholast on the *Iliad* [from Crates of Mallus] . Xenophanes in the poem *On Nature*

The sea is the source of water and the source of wind, for without the great ocean there would be no wind nor flowing rivers nor the rainwater of the sky; nay the great ocean is the father of clouds and winds and rivers.

² Simpl in Arist *Phys.* p 188. 13 ('Αναξίμενην) ³ cf Stob *Ecl.* 1. 31. 4 p 243 W, Arist. *Meteor.* 354 b. 15, Aet. *Doxogr.* Diels 371

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

31

HeracL. *All Hum* 44 Ὑπερίονα δὲ νομιστέον αὐτὸν (τὸν ἥλιον)
τὸν ὑπεριέμενον ἀεὶ τῆς γῆς, ὥσπερ οἶμαι καὶ Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολο-
φώνιος φησιν

ἡέλιός θ' ὑπεριέμενος γαίαν τ' ἐπιθάλπων

32

Sch *Il* 11 27 (cf. Eust.) [δράκοντες . . . ἵρισσιν ἐοικότες].
τῷ κυρτώματι ἢ τῷ χρώματι φησὶ γὰρ Ξενοφάνης·

ἦν τ' Ἴριν καλέουσι, νέφος καὶ τοῦτο πέφυκε,
πορφύρεον καὶ φοινίκεον καὶ χλωρὸν ἰδέσθαι.

33

Sext. *Emp. adv Math* 10 314 συμφέρεσθαι δ' αὐτῷ ('Ομήρῳ
Il. 7. 99) δοκεῖ κατ' ἐνίου καὶ ὁ Κολοφώνιος Ξενοφάνης φησὶ
γάρ

πάντες γὰρ γαίης τε καὶ ὕδατος ἐκγενόμεσθα.

34

Ibid. 7. 49. 110 ταῦτα μὲν οἱ Πυθαγορικοὶ Ξενοφάνης δὲ κατὰ
τοὺς ὡς ἑτέρως αὐτὸν ἐξηγουμένους ὅταν λέγῃ

καὶ τὸ μὲν οὖν σαφὲς οὐτις ἀνὴρ γένητ'¹ οὐδέ τις ἔσται
εἰδὼς ἀμφὶ θεῶν τε καὶ ἄσσα λέγω περὶ πάντων·
εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα τύχοι τετελεσμένον² εἰπών,
αὐτὸς ὅμως οὐκ οἶδε· δόκος δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι τέτυκται·
φαίνεται μὴ πᾶσαν κατάληψιν ἀναιρεῖν ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐπιστημονικὴν καὶ
ἀδιάπτωτον, κτλ.

¹ so Plut. Sext. ἴδεν, Diog. εἶδεν, οἶδεν, i.e. οὔδεν (due to
contrast with ἔσται εἰδὼς taken as equivalent to εἴσεται)
corrected to ἴδεν to make it metrical ² ἦν and μέγιστα
and τύχη τετελεσμένα Gal. (τύχη also Hippol.)

¹ or that which they call the rainbow ² as well as the
sun (Diels) ³ cf. Hippol. *Ref.* 10. 7, Sch. *Il.* 7. 99, Plut.

XENOPHANES

31

Heracleitus *Homeric Allegories* We must consider the sun as *Hyperion*, that is 'who ever goeth over' the earth, as I think is said by Xenophanes of Colophon :

and the Sun that goeth over and warmeth the earth

32

Scholast on the *Iliad* ['snakes . . . like rainbows'] . in curve or colour, compare Xenophanes .

She whom they call Iris,¹ she too ² is a cloud, purple and red and yellow to view.

33³

Sextus Empiricus *Against the Mathematicians* : According to some writers Xenophanes of Colophon appears to agree with Homer, for he says .

We all came from earth and water.

34⁴

The Same Thus the Pythagoreans, Xenophanes, according to those who interpret him so differently when he says :

And in truth no man hath been or ever will be that knoweth about the Gods and all that I speak of; for even though he chance to say the fullest truth, yet he knoweth it not in himself; there's fancy in all things; ⁵

seems to abolish, not perhaps all ' apprehension,' but science and infallibility, etc.

Vt Hom 2 93, Heracl *Alleg Hom* 22 ⁴ cf Sext. Emp. *Math* 110 8. 26, *Pyrrh. Hypot.* 2. 18 (1 4), 7. 50, Arist. 3 1. vol 8 p 636 K (ll. 3-4), Stob *Ecl* 2. 1 17 (1 4), Procl. in *Tim* 1 254 23, Epiphan *Exp Fid* 9. 1087 c ⁵ i.e. it is all opinion rather than knowledge, cf. Plat. *Meno* 80 d

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

35

Plut. *Q. Conr.* 9. 7 τοῖς τοῖτοις ἐπιφωνήσαντος τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου τὰ τοῦ Ξενοφάνους ὥσπερ εἰώθει

ταῦτα δεδοξάσθω¹ μὲν εἰκότα τοῖς ἐτύμοισι.

36

Hdn. π. διχρ *Gram Gr.* 2 1. 16. 21 [after fr. 10] καὶ πάλιν ὁππόσα δὴ θνητοῖσι πεφήνασιν εἰσοράσθαι

37

Id π μ λ. *Gram Gr.* 936. 18 ὅ τε Ξενοφάνης φησί·
ἀγνὸν² ἐνὶ σπεάτεσσι τεοῖς³ καταλείβεται ὕδωρ·
ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ λέγεται σπέας.

38

Ibid. 2. 946 οὐδὲν τῶν εἰς ὧν ληγόντων συγκριτικῶν ἔχει πρὸ τέλους τὸ ν· σημειῶδες ἔρα τὸ παρὰ Ξενοφάνει⁴ γλύσσω
εἰ μὴ χλωρὸν ἔφυσε θεὸς μέλι, πολλὸν ἔφασκον⁵
γλύσσωνα σῦκα πέλεσθαι.

39

Poll. 6 46 συκάμινα ταῦτα δὲ καὶ μόρα Αἰσχύλος ἀνῴμασεν,
τὰ ἄγρια οὕτως ὀνομάσας τὰ ἐκ τῆς βάτου τάχα δ' ἂν τις καὶ
κεράσια φαίη,

κερασόν

τὸ δένδρον ἐν τῷ Περὶ Φύσεως Ξενοφάνους εὐρύν.

¹ Wil : mss -θαι ² so 391 27, 772 32 : here mss καὶ μὴν
³ as the correct accentuation of this word is doubtful, I give the ms-reading ⁴ mss ξενοφῶντι ⁵ Lehrs : mss -λῶν
ἔφασκεν (κὲν or ἂν came earlier in the sentence)

¹ cf. Choerob. *Gram. Gr.* 4 2 88 30 ² prob. the stars (Diels) ³ cf. *E. Gud.* κάρρων *E. M. Vet.* γλύσσω, *E. Flor.*

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35

Plutarch *Dinner-table Problems*: Ammonius here quoted, as was his wont, the words of Xenophanes:

Let this now be held as resembling the truth.

36¹

Herodian *On 'Doubtful' Syllables* [after fr. 10] And again: as many as have ever appeared to the sight of men²

37

The Same *On Peculiarities*: And Xenophanes says

In certain caverns pure water drips;
for the singular *σπέας* does not occur.

38³

The Same: No comparative in *-ων* has *υ* in the penultimate syllable, the form *γλύσσων* 'sweeter,' therefore, used by Xenophanes, is remarkable.

Had not God made honey yellow, they had said that figs were far sweeter.

39

Pollux *Onomasticon* Mulberries —These are called *μόρα* by Aeschylus, who gives the name of *σικάμνα* to the wild variety, the fruit of the bramble. They might also perhaps be called *κεράσια*, for we find the tree *κερασός*

cherry-tree

in Xenophanes *On Nature*.⁴

Miller *κάρπων*, *E. M.* 235 3 ⁴ *κερασός* is really the bird-cherry; mulberries and blackberries seem to have been confused

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

40

Et. Mag. Vct.

βρόταχον

τὸν βάτραχον Ἴωνες . καὶ παρὰ Ξενοφάνει

41

Tz ad Dion Perieg 940 [περὶ τῶν εἰς ρος κανῶν σιρός]
 σιλλογράφος δέ τις τὸ σι μακρὸν γράφει | τῷ ῥῶ, δοκεῖ μοι, τοῦτο
 μηκύνας τάχα. σιλλογράφος νῦν ὁ Ξενοφάνης ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ Τίμων καὶ
 ἕτεροι.

42

Erot. 18 K βληστρισμός· ὁ ῥιπτασμός . καθὼς κα' Ξενο-
 φάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος φησιν

ἐγὼ δ' ἐμαυτὸν ἐκ πόλιος πόλιν φέρων¹
 ἐβλήστριζον·

ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔρριπταζόμεν.

¹ Diels· mss πόλιν ἐκ πόλεως φ (ἐβλήστ began hexam
 cf fr. 14)

XENOPHANES

40

Old Etymologicum Magnum βρόταχος

frog

Ionic for βάτραχος, compare Xenophanes

41

Tzetzes on Dionysius Periegetes [rule of the nouns in -πος, σιρός, 'silo' or pit for storing corn] : One of the 'Sillographers' or writers of lampoons writes the first syllable long, maybe lengthening it, methinks because of the ρ. The Sillographers are Xenophanes, Timon, and some others.

42

Erotian *Glossary to Hippocrates*: βληστρισμός —a tossing or throwing about . . . compare Xenophanes of Colophon.

But as for me I went tossing myself from city to city;

ἐβλήστριζον for ἐρριπταζόμεν¹

¹ prob not the same passage as fr. 7

ΘΕΟΓΝΙΔΟΣ

Βίος

Suid Θεόγνις· (α') Μεγαρεὺς τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Μεγάρων, γεγονὼς ἐν τῇ νθ' Ὀλυμπιάδι. ἔγραψεν ἐλεγείαν εἰς τοὺς Σωθέντας τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐν τῇ Πολιορκίᾳ, Γνώμας δι' ἐλεγείας εἰς ἔπη βω', καὶ πρὸς Κύρνον τὸν αὐτοῦ ἐρώμενον Γνωμολογίαν δι' ἐλεγείων, καὶ ἐτέρας ὑποθήκας, παραινετικάς, τὰ πάντα ἐπικῶς ὅτι μὲν παραινέσεις ἔγραψε Θεόγνις· ἄλλ' ἐν μέσῳ τούτων παρεσπαρμέναι μιαρίαι καὶ παιδικοὶ ἔρωτες καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ὁ ἐνάρετος ἀποστρέφεται βίος. (β') τραγωδοποιητὴς πάνυ ψυχρὸς, ἐκ τῶν λ', ὃς καὶ Χιῶν ἐλέγετο. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ποιητὴς Θεόγνις· οὗτος δ' ἦν Μεγαρεὺς.

Plat Legg. 1. p 630 a ποιητὴν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς μάρτυρ' ἔχομεν, Θεόγνιν, πολίτην τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Μεγαρέων, ὃς φησιν 'πιστὸς ἀνὴρ χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου ἀντερύσασθαι | ἄξιός ἐν χαλεπῇ, Κύρνε, διχοστασίῃ (1. 77).'

Sch. ad loc. περὶ Θεόγνιδος καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν ταύτης ἱστορίας ἀμφιβολία πολλὴ ἐγένετο τοῖς παλαιοῖς. καὶ οἱ μὲν φασιν αὐτὸν ἐκ Μεγάρων γεγενῆσθαι τῆς Ἀττικῆς· οὕτως ὁ Δίδυμος, ἐπιφύομενος τῷ Πλάτῳ ὡς παριστοροῦντι· οἱ δὲ ὅτι ἐκ Σικελίας· εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ εἴη ἐκ Σικελίας,

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LIFE

Suidas *Lexicon*: Theognis:—(1) A Megarian of Megara in Sicily; flourished in the 59th Olympiad (544–1 B.C.)¹; he wrote an Elegy on the *Syracusans saved in the Siege*, *Maxims* in 2800 elegiac verses, and to his bosom-friend Cyrnus a *Gnomology* or collection of maxims in elegiacs² and other exhortations, all in the Epic dialect. Theognis wrote exhortations, but, scattered throughout these, foul and paederastic love-poems and other pieces repulsive to the virtuous life.³ (2) A very frigid writer of Tragedy, one of the Thirty Tyrants, nicknamed Chion or *Snow*. There is also a poet Theognis who was of Megara.⁴

Plato *Laws*. We too have a poet-witness, namely Theognis, a citizen of the Sicilian Megara, who says 'In a sore dissension, Cyrnus, a trusty man is to be reckoned against gold and silver.'

Scholiast on the passage There was much controversy in ancient times about Theognis and this statement about him. Some authorities aver that he was of the Attic Megara. This is the view of Didymus, who attacks Plato for misrepresenting the facts. Others make him a Megarian of Sicily. But even if he were not of Sicily, the present passage

¹ cf. Euseb. Cyrill. (both 548), *Chron. Pas.* (c. 552)

² there is prob. some displacement and repetition hereabouts

³ the last sentence prob. comes from a different source ⁴ cf. Phot. *Lex. Kúpros*, Θέογνις, Sch. Thuc. 2. 43

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οὐδὲν λυμαίνεται τὸ προκείμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦναντίον· οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ Ἀττικοῦ ὡς Ἀθηναῖος λέγει, ἀλλὰ καίτοι πρὸς Ἀθηναῖον αὐτὸν παραβάλλων τὸν Τυρταῖον, τὸ ἀληθὲς περὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἐφύλαξε καὶ τὸν Θέογγιν καὶ ξένον ὄντα προέκρινε. τί δὲ ἐκώλυεν αὐτὸν ἐκ ταύτης μὲν εἶναι τῆς Μεγαρίδος, ἀπελθόντα δὲ εἰς Σικελίαν, ὡς ἡ ἱστορία ἔχει, γενέσθαι νόμφ Μεγαρέα ἐκεῖ, ὡς καὶ τὸν Τυρταῖον Λακεδαιμόνιον ;

Steph. Byz. Μέγαρα· πόλις περὶ τὸν Ἰσθμόν, μέση Πελοποννήσου καὶ Ἀττικῆς καὶ Βοιωτίας . . . ἀφ' ἧς Θέογγις ὁ τὰς Παραινέσεις γράψας.

Dio. Chrys. 2. 18 δοκεῖ μοι οὐ πᾶσα ποίησις βασιλεῖ πρέπειν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ στολή. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα ποιήματα ἔγωγε ἡγοῦμαι τὰ μὲν συμποτικά αὐτῶν, τὰ δὲ ἐρωτικά, τὰ δὲ ἐγκώμια ἀθλητῶν καὶ ἵππων νικῶντων, τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τεθνεῶσι θρήνους, τὰ δὲ γέλωτος ἔνεκεν ἢ λαιδορίας πεποιημένα, ὥσπερ τὰ τῶν κωμφοδοδιδασκάλων καὶ τὰ τοῦ Παρίου ποιητοῦ· ἴσως δέ τινα αὐτῶν καὶ δημοτικὰ λέγοιτ' ἄν, συμβουλευόντα καὶ παραινούντα τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ ἰδιώταις, καθάπερ οἶμαι τὰ Φωκυλίδου καὶ Θεόγγιδος.

Plat. Meno 95 c σλ Οἶσθα δὲ ὅτι οὐ μόνον σοί τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς πολιτικοῖς τοῦτο δοκεῖ τοτὲ μὲν εἶναι διδακτόν, τοτὲ δ' οὐ, ἀλλὰ καὶ Θέογγιν τὸν ποιητὴν οἶσθ' ὅτι ταῦτά ταῦτα λέγει ;—MEN. Ἐν ποίοις ἔπεις ;—σλ Ἐν τοῖς Ἑλεγείοις, οὐ λέγει· (Theogn. 33, κτλ).

¹ cf. Harp. Θέογγις ² this suggests the existence of other works ³ ἐν ἄλλοις δέ γε ὀλίγον μεταβάς

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does him no wrong, but the reverse; for the speaker shows no bias, Athenian as he is, on behalf of an Athenian, but although his object is to compare him with an Athenian, namely Tyrtaeus, he has kept to the truth in deciding between them, and preferred Theognis though a foreigner. And why should not Theognis have been of this Megara and then have gone to Sicily as this statement implies and become a citizen-by-law of the Sicilian Megara, just as Tyrtaeus became a Spartan?

Stephanus of Byzantium *Lexicon*: Megara:—A city in the Isthmus, between the Peloponnese on the one side and Attica and Boeotia on the other. . . . Thence came Theognis the writer of the *Exhortations*.¹

Dio Chrysostom *Orations*: I do not think that every kind of poetry is suitable for a king any more than every kind of clothing. For my part I should choose him other poems—drinking-songs, love-songs, eulogies of winning athletes and horses, dirges for the dead, and jests or lampoons like those of the comedy-writers and Archilochus; and perhaps some of them might be called demotic or popular songs, those which give counsel and exhortation to the common sort of men, like those of Phocylides, say, or Theognis.

Plato *Meno*: Soc. And do you know, not only you and others who are politicians sometimes believe that virtue is teachable and sometimes not, but the poet Theognis is just as inconsistent?—MEN Why, in what passage?—Soc. In the *Elegiacs*,² where he says (*contrasts*³ Theognis 33-6 with 435, 434, 436-8).

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Isocr. *Nicochl* 43 σημείον δ' ἂν τις ποιήσαιο τὴν Ἡσιόδου καὶ Θεόγνιδος καὶ Φωκυλίδου ποιήσιν.* καὶ γὰρ τούτους φασὶ μὲν ἀρίστους γεγενῆσθαι συμβούλους τῷ βίῳ τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ταῦτα δὲ λέγοντες αἰροῦνται συνδιατρίβειν ταῖς ἀλλήλων ἀνοίαις μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς ἐκείνων ὑποθήκαις. ἔτι δὲ εἴ τις ἐκλέξειε τῶν προεχόντων ποιητῶν τὰς καλουμένας γνώμας ἐφ' αἷς ἐκείνοι μάλιστα ἑσπούδασαν, ὁμοίως ἂν καὶ πρὸς ταύτας διατεθεῖεν· ἥδιον γὰρ ἂν κωμωδίας τῆς φανλοτάτης ἢ τῶν οὕτω τεχνικῶς πεποιημένων ἀκούσειαν.

Xen. ap. Stob *Fl.* 88. 14 Ξενοφώντος ἐκ τοῦ περὶ Θεόγνιδος· Θεόγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη τοῦ Μεγαρέως· οὗτος δὲ ὁ ποιητὴς περὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου λόγον πεποιήται ἢ περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἔστιν ἡ ποιήσις σύγγραμμα περὶ ἀνθρώπων ὥσπερ εἴ τις ἱππικὸς ὢν συγγράψειεν περὶ ἱππικῆς. ἡ οὖν ἀρχὴ μοι δοκεῖ τῆς ποιήσεως ὀρθῶς ἔχειν· ἀρχεται γὰρ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τοῦ εὖ γενέσθαι. ᾗτο γὰρ οὔτε ἄνθρωπον οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἂν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, εἰ μὴ τὰ γεννῆσοντα ἀγαθὰ εἴη. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτῷ παραδείγμασι τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοις χρῆσασθαι, ὅσα μὴ εἰκὴ τρέφεται ἀλλὰ μετὰ τέχνης ἕκαστα θεραπεύεται ὅπως γενναιότατα ἔσονται. δηλοῖ δ' ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς ἔπεσι. (ll. 183–90). ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη λέγει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι γεννᾶν ἐξ ἀλλήλων,

¹ not mentioned elsewhere, but the *linguistic* arguments against the authenticity of the passage, advanced *eg* by Persson (*Eranos* 1915 p 43), are not convincing ² ποιήσις is used rather than ποίημα because the writer has a collection

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Isocrates *To Nicocles*. Proof of this might be had from the poetry of Hesiod, Theognis, and Phocylides, whom they declare to have been the best possible counsellors upon human life and yet choose to concern themselves rather with one another's follies than with their exhortations. Moreover, if one were to pick out from the really outstanding poets the maxims, as they are called, to which they give their highest praise, they would treat them with the same neglect; for they would sooner listen to a third-rate comedy than to these high products of literary art.

Stobaeus *Anthology*: From Xenophon's treatise *On Theognis*:¹—'These are the lines of Theognis of Megara': This poet's theme is simply the virtues and vices of mankind, and the poem² is a work on man just like the treatise on horsemanship which might be written by a horseman. The beginning³ of it therefore seems to me to be quite as it should be: the author begins with⁴ the question of breeding or good birth, believing, no doubt, that nothing can be good of its kind, whether man or any other creature, unless its progenitors are good. And that is why he chose to do with men as he would with the other animals, which we do not keep without consideration, but give each kind the particular skilled attention which will produce the finest strain. This is proved by the following lines: (183-90). The meaning of these verses is that men do not know how to produce their kind properly,

of poems, not a poem, in mind, Aristotle, *Pol.* 5 6 2, calls the *Eunomia* of Tyrtaeus, perh a long poem in several parts,
 a ποίησις ³ or basis ⁴ or starts from the basis of

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κᾶτα γίνεσθαι τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων κάκιον αἰὲ μειγνύμενον τὸ χεῖρον τῷ βελτίονι. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἐπῶν οἴονται τὸν ποιητὴν πολυπραγμοσύνην¹ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατηγορεῖν, καὶ ἀντὶ χρημάτων ἀγένειαν καὶ κακίαν ἀντι-καταλλάττεσθαι εἰδότας.² ἔμοι δὲ δοκεῖ ἄγνοϊαν κατηγορεῖν περὶ τὸν αὐτῶν βίον.

Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1179. b. 4 εἰ μὲν οὖν ἦσαν οἱ λόγοι αὐταρκεῖς πρὸς τὸ ποιῆσαι ἐπιεικεῖς, 'πολλοὺς ἂν μισθοὺς καὶ μεγάλους' δικαίως 'ἔφερον' κατὰ τὸν Θεόγνιν (434), καὶ ἔδει ἂν τούτους πορίσασθαι . . .

Id. *Eth. Eud.* 1214. a. 1 ὁ μὲν ἐν Δήλῳ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην ἀποφηνάμενος, συνέγραψεν ἐπὶ τὸ προπύλαιον τοῦ Λητώου, διελὼν³ ὑπάρχοντα πάντα τῷ αὐτῷ, τό τε ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ ἡδύ, ποιήσας. 'Καλλιστον τὸ δικαιοτάτον, λῶστον δ' ὑγιαίνειν' | πάντων δ' ἥδιστον, οὗ τις ἐρᾷ, τὸ τυχεῖν' (Theognis 255).

Id. *Eth. Nic.* 1129. b. 29 καὶ παροιμιαζόμενοί φαμεν. 'ἐν δὲ δικαιοσύνῃ συλλήβδην πᾶς' ἀρετὴ 'στι (Theognis 147).

Plut. *Aud. Poet.* 2 τὰ δ' Ἐμπεδοκλέους ἔπη καὶ Παρμενίδου καὶ Θηριακὰ Νικάνδρου καὶ Γνωμο-λογίαι Θεόγνιδος λόγοι εἰσὶ κιχράμενοι παρὰ ποιητικῆς ὥσπερ ὄχημα τὸ μέτρον καὶ τὸν ὄγχον, ἵνα τὸ πεζὸν διαφύγῃσιν.

¹ mss also πολυχρημοσύνην ² prob corrupt. ὥς ἀντ. and εἰδότεων ? ³ mss insert οὐχ, but cf *Eth. Nic.* 1099 a. 25

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and the result is that the human race is not so good as it might be because the good is always mingled with the bad. But the generality of men take these lines as proving¹ that the poet accuses his fellow-men of busying themselves in vain matters, and of knowing² how to make money compensate for low-birth and viciousness. My own view is that the poet is accusing them of ignorance of the nature of their own lives³

Aristotle *Nicomachean Ethics* : Now if words were sufficient to make a man a capable citizen—to quote Theognis—‘they would receive,’ quite rightly, ‘much and great wages’ and it would be necessary to furnish oneself with a supply of them. . . .

The Same *Eudemian Ethics* : The man who declared his own opinion before the God at Delos, recorded it upon the entrance of the temple of Leto, separating things which all belong together, the good and the beautiful (or honourable) and the sweet, writing :

The fairest thing ’s uprightness, health the best,
To have our heart’s desire the pleasantest

The Same *Nicomachean Ethics* : And we have the proverb ‘Righteousness containeth the sum of all virtue’⁴

Plutarch *How the Young should listen to Poetry* : The Epic verse of Empedocles and Parmenides, the *Venomous Bites* of Nicander and the *Gnomologies* of Theognis are works which borrow from poetry its metre and dignity as it might be a carriage, in order to avoid the necessity of going afoot.⁵

¹ cf. Thuc. i 1 ἐκ τεκμηρίων . . . οὐ νομίζω ² or emending
the Greek as knowing ³ cf. Plut. *Nobil.* 15 ⁴ excellence
generally ⁵ this has also the meaning of writing prose

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Ibid. 4 *fin.* χαρίεν δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Βίωνος πρὸς τὸν Θεόγγιν λέγοντα 'Πᾶς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πενίῃ δεδμημένος οὔτε τι εἰπεῖν | οὔθ' ἔρξαι δύναται, γλῶσσα δέ οἱ δέδεται (177),' 'Πῶς οὖν σὺ πένης ὦν φλυαρεῖς τοσαῦτα καὶ καταδολεσχεῖς ἡμῶν ;'

Luc. Tim. 26 ΕΡΜΗΣ καὶ ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ· ΕΡ. οἶδα γοῦν τινὰς οὐκ ὀλίγας αὐτῶν οὕτως σου δυσέρωτας ὄντας ὥστε καὶ 'ἐς βαθुकήτεα πόντον' φέροντες ἔρριψαν αὐτοὺς 'καὶ πετρῶν κατ' ἡλιβάτων' (cf. Theog. 175) ὑπερορᾶσθαι νομίζοντες ὑπὸ σοῦ, ὅτεπερ¹ οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐώρας αὐτούς.

Diog. L. 6. 15 [π. 'Αντισθένους]· φέρονται δ' αὐτοῦ συγγράμματα τόμοι δέκα· . . τόμος δεύτερος ἐν ᾧ . . . Περὶ Δικαιοσύνης καὶ 'Ανδρείας, Προτρεπτικὸς πρῶτος, δεύτερος, τρίτος, Περὶ Θεόγνιδος δ' ε'.

Ibid. 10. 126 ['Επικούρου]· πολὺ δὲ χείρων καὶ ὁ λέγων καλὸν μὲν 'μὴ φύναι, φύντα δ' ὅπως ὥκιστα πύλας 'Αἶδαο περῆσαι' (Theogn. 425-7)· εἰ μὲν γὰρ πεποιθὼς τοῦτό φησι, πῶς οὐκ ἀπέρχεται τοῦ ζῆν ;

Ath. 8. 364 b οἱ δὲ νῦν προσποιούμενοι θεοῖς θύειν καὶ συγκαλοῦντες ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους καταρῶνται μὲν τοῖς τέκνοις, λοιδοροῦνται δὲ ταῖς γυναιξί, κλαυθμυρίζουσι τοὺς οἰκέτας, ἀπειλοῦσι τοῖς πολλοῖς, μόνον οὐχὶ τὸ τοῦ 'Ομήρου λέγοντες 'νῦν δ' ἔρχεσθ' ἐπὶ δειπνον, ἵνα ξυνάγωμεν 'Ἀρηα', ἐπὶ νοῦν λαμβάνοντες τὰ εἰρημένα ὑπὸ τοῦ τὸν

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The Same. Witty too is the rejoinder of Bion to Theognis when he said 'Your victim of Penury can neither say nor do aught of any account, and his tongue is tied.' 'How then' asked Bion 'can a poor man like you bore us to death with such a flow of nonsense?'¹

Lucian *Timon*: HERMES and PLUTUS (Wealth).—H. I know quite a number of them who were so lovesick for you that they took and threw themselves 'into the abysmal sea or over sheer precipices' because they thought you disdained them, though really you had never seen them at all.

Diogenes Laertius *Lives of the Philosophers* [Antisthenes]: His writings are current in ten volumes . . the 2nd volume containing . . *On Righteousness and Courage*; a hortative work in three Books, and *Concerning Theognis*, making a fourth and fifth.

Epicurus in the Same. Far worse is he who says that it were a good thing 'never to have been born; failing this, to pass as soon as one may the gates of Death.' For if he believes this, why does he not depart this life?

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner*: But nowadays people make a pretence of sacrificing to the Gods, and gathering their friends and intimates for the sacrifice, proceed to curse their children, abuse their wives, make their servants weep, and threaten all and sundry—you might almost say that they cried with Homer 'Now hie ye to your meal that we may battle join,' taking to heart the words of the

¹ mss ὀτιπέρ

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Χείρωνα πεποιηκότος, εἴτε Φερεκράτης ἐστὶν εἴτε Νικόμαχος ὁ ῥυθμικὸς ἢ ὅστις δῆποτε·

μηδὲ σύ γ' ἄνδρα φίλον καλέσας ἐπὶ δαῖτα θάλειαν ἀχθοῦ ὁρῶν παρέοντα· κακὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ τόδε ῥέζει· ἀλλὰ μάλ' εὐκηλος τέρπου φρένα τέρπε τ' ἐκείνον. νῦν δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδ' ὅλως μέμνηνται, τὰ δὲ ἐξῆς αὐτῶν ἐκμανθάνουσιν, ἅπερ πάντα ἐκ τῶν εἰς Ἡσίοδον ἀναφερομένων Μεγάλων Ἠοίων πεπαρώδεται·

ἡμῶν δ' ἦν τινά τις καλέσῃ θύων ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, ἀχθόμεθ' ἦν ἔλθῃ καὶ ὑπερβλέπομεν παρεόντα χῶτι τάχιστα θύραζ' ἐξελθεῖν βουλόμεθ' αὐτόν. εἴτα γνούς πως τοῦθ' ὑποδεῖται, κατὰ τις εἶπε τῶν ξυμπιπόντων 'Ἦδη σύ; τί οὐχ ὑποπίνεις; οὐχ ὑπολύσεις αὐτόν;' ὁ δ' ἄχθεται αὐτὸς ὁ θύων τῷ κατακωλύοντι καὶ εὐθὺς ἔλεξ' ἐλεγεία·
'Μηδένα μῆτ' ἀέκοντα μένειν κατέρυκε παρ' ἡμῖν μῆθ' εὐδοντ' ἐπέγειρε, Σιμωνίδῃ' (Theogn. 467)· οὐ γὰρ ἐτοίμως¹

τοιαυτὴ λέγομεν δειπνίζοντες φίλον ἄνδρα;

Id. 14 632 d Ξενοφάνης δὲ καὶ Σόλων καὶ Θεόγνις καὶ Φωκυλίδης, ἔτι δὲ Περιάνδρος ὁ Κορίνθιος ἐλεγείσποιος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν οἱ μὴ προσάγοντες πρὸς τὰ ποιήματα μελωδίαν ἐκπονοῦσι <τελείους>² τοὺς στίχους τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς καὶ τῇ τάξει τῶν μέτρων καὶ σκοποῦσιν ὅπως αὐτῶν μηθεὶς μήτε ἀκέφαλος ἔσται μήτε λαγαρὸς μήτε μείουρος.

Amm. Marc 29. 1 21 . . . angustus formidandae paupertatis attriti, cuius metu vel in mare nos ire

¹ Kaib mss ἐπ' οἶνοις

² Kaib. (but after μέτρων)

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author of the *Cheiron*, Pherecrates, Nicomachus the metrician, or whoever it was :

Nor you, when you invite a friend to dine,
Be wroth when in he comes that is ill-bred.
Rather be glad and make glad at your ease.

Nowadays they do not remember the whole passage, but learn by heart the lines which follow and which are all a parody of the *Great Eoiai* ascribed to Hesiod :

But if we sacrifice and call in friends
We are angered if one comes, neglect him there
And wish him further. Somehow advised of this,
He dons his shoes ; whereat another guest
Cries ' Off already ? do drink just a drop ;
Take off his shoes again ' ; and then the host,
Wroth at the interruption, quotes the lines
' Stay none, Simonides, that will not bide
' Nor wake the slumbering.'¹ Are not we too
prone

To say such things when a friend 's come to dine ?

The Same : Xenophanes, Solon, Theognis, Phocylides, and indeed Perianther the elegy-writer of Corinth, and all the other poets who do not put music to their poems, make their lines complete in the number and arrangement of the metrical units and take care that none shall be ' headless ' or ' weak ' or ' curtal.'²

Ammianus Marcellinus *History* : . . . worn by the difficulties of dreaded Poverty, for fear of which the

¹ The quoter means ' any more than you would wake the slumbering,' though that is not the meaning of the original

² technical terms of hexameter-writing

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praecipites suadet (l. 175) Theognis poeta vetus et prudens.

Plat. *Legg.* 7. 810 e λέγω μὴν ὅτι ποιηταί τε ἡμῖν εἰσὶ τινες ἐπῶν ἑξαμέτρων πάμπολλοι καὶ τριμέτρων καὶ πάντων δὴ τῶν λεγομένων μέτρων, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ σπουδῇ, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ γέλωτα ὠρμηκότες. ἐν οἷς φασι δεῖν οἱ πολλάκις μύριοι τοὺς ὀρθῶς παιδευομένους τῶν νέων τρέφειν καὶ διακορεῖς ποιεῖν, πολυηκόους τ' ἐν ταῖς ἀναγνώσεσι ποιούντας καὶ πολυμαθεῖς, ὅλους ποιητὰς ἐκμανθάνοντας· οἱ δὲ ἐκ πάντων κεφάλαια ἐκλέξαντες καὶ τινὰς ὅλας ῥήσεις εἰς ταὐτὸ συναγαγόντες ἐκμανθάνειν φασὶ δεῖν εἰς μνήμην τιθεμένους, εἰ μέλλει τις ἀγαθὸς ἡμῖν καὶ σοφὸς ἐκ πολυπειρίας καὶ πολυμαθείας γενέσθαι.

ΘΕΟΓΝΙΔΟΣ ΕΛΕΓΕΙΩΝ¹

Α'

1-4

ὦ ἄνα, Λητοῦς νιέ, Διὸς τέκος, οὐποτε σεῖο
λήσομαι ἀρχόμενος οὐδ' ἀποπαυόμενος,
ἄλλ' αἰεὶ πρῶτόν τε καὶ ὕστατον ἔν τε μέσοισιν
αἰέσω· σὺ δέ μοι κλῦθι καὶ ἐσθλὰ δίδου.

¹ Title : mss ἐλεγείων, διὰ στίχων ἡρωελεγείων

¹ Title . or Elegies (ἐλεγείων) ? another name seems to have been *Gnomology* or *Collection of Maxims*, Clement of Alexandria,

THEOGNIS

wise old poet Theognis advises us to cast ourselves into the sea.

Plato *Lans*. What I mean is, that we have great numbers of writers of poems in hexameters, trimeters, and all the rest of the -meters as they call them, some of whom are out for a serious object and others to raise a laugh. Now an enormous majority of people declare that properly educated children must be brought up on these writers and stuffed full of them, becoming well-read and deeply-learned by getting whole poets by heart. Some people, on the other hand, make summaries and collect certain passages complete in themselves and claim that these must be committed to memory by any child of ours that is to get virtue and wisdom from width of experience and depth of knowledge.

See also references to citations as they occur below, and Jul. ap. Cyr. c *Jul* 7. 224 Sp.

THE ELEGIAC POEMS OF THEOGNIS¹

BOOK I

1-4

O Lord Thou Son of Leto, Offspring of Zeus, neither beginning will I forget Thee ever nor ending, but sing Thee alway both first and last and in between; and Thou give ear unto me and grant me good.²

Str 7 18 110, ascribes to Theognis the oracle ὑμεῖς δ' ὦ Μεγαρεῖς οὔτε τρίτος οὔτε τέταρτος | οὔτε δωαδέκατοι, οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ οὔτ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ ² cf *Apost* 18 56b (1-4)

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5-10

Φοῖβε ἄναξ, ὅτε μὲν σε θεὰ τέκε πότνια Λητώ,
 φοῖνικος ῥαδινῆς χερσὶν ἐφαψαμένη,
 ἀθανάτων κάλλιστον, ἐπὶ τροχοειδέϊ λίμνῃ,
 πᾶσα μὲν ἐπλήσθη Δῆλος ἀπειρεσίῃ
 ὁδμῆς ἀμβροσίης, ἐγέλασσε δὲ γαῖα πελώρη
 γήθησεν δὲ βαθὺς πόντος ἄλδος πολιῆς.

11-14

Ἄρτεμι θηροφόνῃ, θύγατερ Διός, ἦν Ἀγαμέμνων
 εἴσαθ' ὅτ' ἐς Τροίην ἔπλεε νηυσὶ βοῆς,
 εὐχομένῳ μοι κλῦθι, κακὰς δ' ἀπὸ κῆρας ἄλλαλκε·
 σοὶ μὲν τοῦτο, θεά, σμικρόν, ἐμοὶ δὲ μέγα.

15-18

Μοῦσαι καὶ Χάριτες, κοῦραι Διός, αἵ ποτε Κάδμου
 ἐς γάμον ἐλθούσαι καλὸν αἰείσατ' ἔπος·
 "Ὅττι καλόν, φίλον ἐστί, τὸ δ' οὐ καλὸν οὐ
 φίλον ἐστίν·"
 τοῦτ' ἔπος ἀθανάτων ἦλθε διὰ στομάτων.

19-38

Κύρνε, σοφιζομένῳ μὲν ἐμοὶ σφρηγὶς ἐπικείσθω
 τοῖσδ' ἔπεσιν, λήσει δ' οὔποτε κλεπτόμενα,
 οὐδέ τις ἀλλάξει κάκιον τοῦσθλοῦ παρεόντος,
 ὧδε δὲ πᾶς τις ἐρεῖ· "Θεύγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη

¹ at Megara, Paus. 1. 43. 1

² cf Arist *Eth. Eud* 1243a

³ cf. Iriarte 191 (17-18)

⁴ cf Crit 4, or let me use the cunning device of setting my seal (see p 8), μὲν prob either marks the beginning of the (original) collection proper or

THEOGNIS

5-10

Great Phoebus, when Our Lady Leto with her slender arms about the palm-tree brought Thee forth beside the Round Water to be fairest of the Immortals, round Delos was all filled with odour ambrosial, the huge Earth laughed, and the deep waters of the hoary brine rejoiced.

11-14

Artemis, Slayer of Wild Beasts, Daughter of Zeus, whose image was set up¹ of Agamemnon when he sailed on swift shipboard for Troy, give Thou ear unto my prayer, and ward off the Spirits of Ill, a thing small, O Goddess, for Thee, but great for me.²

15-18

Muses and Graces, Daughters of Zeus, who came of yore to the wedding of Cadmus and sang so fair a song, 'What is fair is dear, and not dear what is not fair,'—such was the song that passed your immortal lips³

19-38

Let the seal of the wise man, Cynrus, be set⁴ upon these lines, and they shall never be filched from him, nor shall evil ever be changed with their good, but every man shall say 'These are the lines of Theognis

contrasts the world-wide reputation that goes with the 'signature' of T. and the contempt felt for him by some of his own people, less likely contrasts the sober counsel of Bk. I with the more frivolous theme of Bk. II, note that σοφία always comes of training, never by nature

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

τοῦ Μεγαρέως πάντας δὲ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὀνομασ-
τοῦ,¹

ἀστοῖσιν δ' οὐπω πᾶσιν ἀδεῖν δύναμαι. 24
οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, Πολυπαῖδῃ· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ² Ζεὺς
οὔθ' ὕων πάντεσσ' ἀνδάνει οὔτ' ἀνέχων.

σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ εὖ φρονέων ὑποθήσομαι, οἷά περ
αὐτός,

Κύρῃ, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν παῖς ἔτ' ἐὼν ἔμαθον
πέπνυσο, μῆδ' αἰσχροῖσιν ἐπ' ἔργμασι μῆδ' ἀδί-
κοισιν

τιμὰς μῆδ' ἀρετὰς ἔλκεο μῆδ' ἄφενος. 30
ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἴσθι· κακοῖσι δὲ μὴ προσομίλει
ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔχεο·

καὶ παρὰ³ τοῖσιν πῖνε καὶ ἔσθιε, καὶ μετὰ τοῖσιν
ἕξε καὶ ἄνδανε τοῖς, ὧν μεγάλη δύναμις
ἐσθλῶν μὲν γὰρ ἅπ' ἐσθλὰ μαθήσεται·⁴ ἦν δὲ
κακοῖσιν 35

συμμίσγῃς, ἀπολεῖς καὶ τὸν ἐόντα νόον.
ταῦτα μαθὼν ἀγαθοῖσιν ὁμίλειε, καὶ ποτε φήσεις
εὖ συμβουλεύειν τοῖσι φίλοισιν ἐμέ.

¹ cf. Soph. *O. T.* 8 ὁ πᾶσι κλεινὸς Οιδίπους καλούμενος, mss also (A) ὀνομαστός, but the omission of ὧν, if we end at Μεγαρέως, is unexampled for poetry before Soph (exc. ἐκῶν, ἀέκων and πίσυνος Hom.) ² ostrakon ap. Sitz. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. 1918 742 (c. A. D. 270) οὐδ' cf. Soph. *Fr.* 481 N

³ so Plat. *Men.* 59d. mss of T. μετὰ: Muson and Nicost. μετὰ τῶν σύ γε ⁴ some ancient citations διδάσκει

THEOGNIS

of Megara, famous throughout the world,'¹ albeit I have not yet been able to please all my fellow-townsmen²—nor is that to be marvelled at, thou son of Polypaus, seeing that Zeus himself pleaseth not every man neither in the sending of the rain nor in the withholding of it. But 'tis with good intent to thee, Cyrnus,³ that I shall give thee the counsels which I learnt from good men in my own childhood. Be thou wise and draw to thyself neither honours nor virtues⁴ nor substance on account of dishonourable or unrighteous deeds. This then I would have thee to know, nor to consort with the bad but ever to cleave unto the good, and at their tables to eat and to drink, and with them to sit,⁵ and them to please, for their power is great.⁶ Of good men shalt thou learn good, but if thou mingle with the bad, thou shalt e'en lose the wit thou hast already. Consort therefore with the good, and someday thou'lt say that I counsel my friends aright.⁷

¹ δέ as in the description *e.g.* of a woman on her tombstone 'daughter of N. but (δέ) wife of M' ² for cynical contrast cf 253 (αὐτάρ) ³ contrast with ἀστοῖς ⁴ ἀπερί is the noun of ἀγαθός, which means 'good at' as well as 'good', its meaning therefore includes excellence, prowess, achievement of all kinds ⁵ in the public lounges ⁶ or and to eat and drink at the house of those, and sit with those, and please those, whose power is great; note that *good* and *bad* in T often have a political colouring, but it would be misleading to translate *noble* and *ignoble* ⁷ cf Xen. ap Stob. *Fl* 88. 14 (22), Apost. 4 14d (24-8), Ar. *Av* 1362 (27), Muson ap. Stob. *Fl* 56 18, Nicostr. *ibid.* 74. 64 (33-6), Xen. *Mem.* 1 2 20, *Symp* 2 4, Clem. Al. *Str.* 5 52.4, Cram. *A P* 1 229, Sch. Aphth. *Rh Gr* 2 593 W, Iriarte 448, Ar. *Eth. Nic.* 1170 a, 1172 a, Liban. 3 90, *Ep.* 79 1366 (35-6)

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39-42

Κύρνε, κύει πόλις ἦδε, δέδοικα δὲ μὴ¹ τέκη ἄνδρα
 εὐθυντήρα κακῆς ὕβριος ἡμετέρης²
 ἀστοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἔθ' οἶδε³ σαόφρονες, ἡγεμόνες δὲ
 τετράφεται πολλὴν ἐς κακότητα πεσεῖν.

43-52

Οὐδεμίαν πω, Κύρν', ἀγαθοὶ πόλιν ὤλεσαν
 ἄνδρες
 ἀλλ' ὅταν ὑβρίζειν τοῖσι κακοῖσιν ἄδη
 δῆμόν τε φθείρωσι δίκας τ' ἀδίκοισι διδῶσιν⁴
 οἰκείων κερδέων εἵνεκα καὶ κράτεος, 46
 ἔλπεο μὴ δηρὸν κείνην πόλιν ἀτρεμείσθαι⁵
 μῆδ' εἰ νῦν κεῖται πολλῇ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ,
 εὖτ' ἂν τοῖσι κακοῖσι φίλ' ἀνδράσι ταῦτα γένηται
 κέρδεα δημοσίῳ σὺν κακῷ ἐρχόμενα
 ἐκ τῶν γὰρ στάσιές τε καὶ ἔμφυλοι φόνοι ἀνδρῶν
 μούναρχοί θ'. ἃ⁶ πόλει μήποτε τῇδε ἄδοι

53-60

Κύρνε πόλιν μὲν ἔθ' ἦδε πόλις, λαοὶ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι,
 οἳ πρόσθ' οὔτε δίκας ἦδεν οὔτε νόμους,
 ἀλλ' ἀμφὶ πλευραῖσι δορὰς αἰγῶν κατέτριβον,
 ἔξω δ' ὥστ' ἔλαφοι τῆσδ' ἐνέμοντο πόλεις.
 καὶ νῦν εἰς' ἀγαθοί, Πολυπαῖδης· οἳ δὲ πρὶν
 ἐσθλοὶ 57
 νῦν δειλοί. τίς κεν ταῦτ' ἀνέχοιτ' ἐσορῶν ;
 ἀλλήλους δ' ἀπατῶσιν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι γελῶντες,
 οὔτε κακῶν γνώμας εἰδότες οὔτ' ἀγαθῶν.

¹ μὴ οὐ⁹ E, cf. 41 ² 1082 ὑβριστὴν χαλεπῆς ἡγέμονα
 στάσιος ³ 1082 A ἔασι ⁴ A φθείρωσι corr. to -ουσι, and
 διδοῦσι ⁵ B mss -μέεσθαι ⁶ Ahr: mss μούναρχοι (-ος) δὲ

THEOGNIS

39-42

Cyrnus, this city is in travail, and I fear she may¹ give birth to a corrector of our evil pride²; for though these her citizens are still discreet, their guides are heading for much mischief.³

43-52

Never yet, Cyrnus, have good men ruined a city; but when it pleases the bad to do the works of pride and corrupt the common folk and give judgment for the unrighteous for the sake of private gain and power, *then* expect not that city to be long quiet, for all she be now in great tranquillity, ay, then when these things become dear to the bad—to wit, gains that bring with them public ill. For of such come discords and internecine slaughter, and of such come tyrants; which things I pray may never please this city.

53-60

Cyrnus, this city is a city still, but lo! her people are other men, who of old knew neither judgments nor laws, but wore goatskins to pieces about their sides, and had their pasture like deer without this city; and now they be good men, O son of Polypatus, and they that were high be now of low estate.⁴ Who can bear to behold such things? Yet they deceive one another even while they smile at one another, knowing the marks neither of the bad nor of the good.⁵

¹ *or emending the Greek*, may not, which suits the sequel better

² ὕβρις, inadequately rendered *pride* or *insolence*, means the spirit of wanton outrage

³ [= 1082 A-B]

⁴ i.e. serfs have been admitted to citizenship

⁵ cf. Ion of Chios fr. 4. 4

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

61-68

Μηδένα τῶνδε φίλον ποιεῦ, Πολυπαῖδῃ, ἀστῶν
 ἐκ θυμοῦ χρεΐης εἵνεκα ¹ μηδεμιῆς·
 ἀλλὰ δόκει μὲν πᾶσιν ἀπὸ γλώσσης φίλος εἶναι,
 χρῆμα δὲ συμμείξεῖς μηδενὶ μηδ' ὅτιοῦν 64
 σπουδαῖον· γνώσῃ γὰρ οἰζυρῶν φρένας ἀνδρῶν,
 ὥς σφιν ἐπ' ἔργοισιν πίστις ἔπ' οὐδεμία,
 ἀλλὰ δόλους τ' ἀπάτας τε πολυπλοκίας τ' ἐφίλη-
 σαν
 οὕτως ὥς ἄνδρες μηκέτι σφζόμενοι ²

69-72

Μήποτε, Κύρνε, κακῷ πίσυνος βούλευε σὺν ἀνδρί,
 εὖτ' ἂν σπουδαῖον πρήγμ' ἐθέλῃς τελέσαι,
 ἀλλὰ μετ' ἐσθλὸν ἰὼν βούλευε καὶ ³ πολλὰ
 μογήσας ⁴
 καὶ μακρὴν ποσσὶν, Κύρν', ὁδὸν ἐκτελέσας. ⁵

73-74

Πρῆξιν μηδὲ φίλοισιν ὅλως ἀνακοινέο πᾶσι·
 παῦροί τοι πολλῶν πιστὸν ἔχουσι νόον

75-76

Παύροισιν πίσυνος μεγάλ' ἀνδράσιν ἔργ' ἐπι-
 χεῖρει,
 μή ποτ' ἀνήκεστον, Κύρνε, λάβῃς ἀνίην.

¹ most mss ἔνεκα, A οὔν- cf 46 ² A omits τ'
³ = βούλευε, cf. παῦ for παῦε Ar. Eq 821, Eust. 1408. 28, and
 prob. ἄλεν for ἄλενε Aesch. P. V 568. mss βούλευε καὶ, βουλεύεο
⁴ cf Od. 6 175, Isocr. Demon. 19 A μογήσα corr. to -γήσας,

THEOGNIS

61-68

Make not friends, son of Polypaus, with any of these thy townsmen from the heart and not for need¹; but let thy tongue give all men to think thou art his friend, while in act thou mingle with no man any sober business whatsoever: for thou shalt know the minds of the miserable sort, and that there's no trusting them in what they do, but they have come to love wiles and deceits and cozenings like men no longer sure of life²

69-72

Never take confident counsel, Cynus, with a bad man when thou wouldst accomplish a grave matter, but seek the counsel of the good, Cynus, even if it mean much labour and a long journey.³

73-74

Share not thy device wholly with all thy friends; few among many, for sure, have a mind that may be trusted⁴

75-76

Make but few privy to it when thou takest in hand great matters, or else, Cynus, thou mayest well find trouble without cure.

¹ or with whatever need in view ² cf. 235 ³ cf. Isocr. *Demon* 19. 25 34 ⁴ cf. Apost. 13. 86 e (74)

others -γῆσαι or -γήσας ⁵ A ἐκτελέσαι corr. to -σας, others -σαι or -σας; cf. Ar. *Eq* 621

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

77-78

Πιστὸς ἀνὴρ χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου ἀντερύσασ-
θαι
ἄξιός ἐν χαλεπῇ, Κύρνε, διχοστασίῃ

79-82

Παύροις εὐρήσεις, Πολυπαῖδη, ἄνδρας ἐταίρους
πιστοὺς ἐν χαλεποῖς πρήγμασι γινομένους,
οἵτινες ἂν τολμῶεν ὁμόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντες
ἴσον τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν τε κακῶν μετέχειν

83-86

Τούτων οὐχ εὔροις¹ διζήμενος, οὐδ' ἐπὶ πάντας
ἀνθρώπους, οὓς ναῦς μὴ μία πάντας ἄγοι,
οἷσιν ἐπὶ γλώσση τε καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἔπεστιν
αἰδώς, οὐδ' αἰσχρὸν χρῆμ' ἐπὶ κέρδος ἄγει.²

87-92

Μή μ' ἔπεστιν μὲν στέργε νόον δ' ἔχε καὶ φρένας
ἄλλη,
εἰ με φιλεῖς καὶ σοι πιστὸς ἔνεστι νόος,
ἀλλὰ³ φίλει καθαρὸν θέμενος νόον, ἧ μ' ἀποειπὼν
ἔχθαιρ' ἀμφαδίην⁴ νεῖκος ἀειράμενος 90
ὃς δὲ μιῇ γλώσση δίχ' ἔχει νόον, οὗτος ἐταῖρος
δεινός, Κύρν', ἐχθρὸς βέλτερος ἢ φίλος ὢν.

¹ *E*, partitive gen. with the unexpressed (accus.) antecedent of οἷσιν. *A* τούτους οὐχ εὔροις, others τούτους (τούς δ') οὐχ εὐρήσεις, for omission of ἂν cf. 125, 1187 ² mss also

THEOGNIS

77-78

In a sore dissension, Cynrus, a trusty man is to be reckoned against gold and silver ¹

79-82

Few comrades, son of Polypaus, wilt thou find worthy thy trust in difficulties, such, to wit, as would be of one mind with thee and suffer to share evenpoise in thy good fortune and thy bad.²

83-86

Thou shalt not find, nay, not in all the world, more than one ship's company of such as be modest of tongue and eye, and are not led by lucre to do what is vile

87-92

If thou lovest me and the heart within thee is loyal, be not my friend but in word, with heart and mind turned contrary; either love me with a whole heart, or disown me and hate me in open quarrel.³ Whosoever is in two minds with one tongue, he, Cynrus, is a dangerous comrade, better as foe than friend.

¹ cf. Plat *Legg* 630 a, Euseb *Praep Ev* 12 2 2, Theodoret *Gr. Aff.* 1 69, Philostr *Apoll* 2 26 (77-8) ² cf. Them. 22 323 (79-80) ³ [= 1082 c-f]

(A) ἔργοι ³ so 1082 E (A) mss here ἡ μὲ from above
⁴ 1082 f A ἐμφανέως

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

93-100†?

Ἦν¹ τις ἐπαινῆσθαι σε τόσον χρόνον ὅσον ὀρώη²
 νοσφισθεὶς δ' ἄλλῃ³ γλώσσαν ἱῆσι κακὴν,
 τοιοῦτός τοι ἑταῖρος ἀνὴρ φίλος οὔτι μάλ' ἐσθλός,
 ὃς κ' εἶπῃ γλώσση λῶα φρονῆ δ' ἕτερα. 96
 ἀλλ' εἷη τοιοῦτος ἐμοὶ φίλος, ὃς τὸν ἑταῖρον
 γινώσκων ὀργὴν καὶ βαρὺν ὄντα φέρει
 ἀντὶ κασιγνήτου. σὺ δέ μοι, φίλε, ταῦτ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ
 φράζεο, καὶ ποτέ μου μνήσεται ἐξοπίσω.

101-104

Μηδεὶς σ' ἀνθρώπων πείσαι⁴ κακὸν ἄνδρα
 φιλῆσαι,
 Κύρνε τί δ' ἔστ' ὄφελος δειλὸς ἀνὴρ φίλος ὢν ;
 οὔτ' ἂν σ' ἐκ χαλεποῖο πόνου ῥύσαιτο καὶ ἄτης,
 οὔτε τι⁵ ἐσθλὸν ἔχων τοῦ μεταδοῦν ἐθέλοι.⁶

105-112

Δειλοὺς εὖ ἔρδοντι ματαιοτάτῃ χάρις ἐστίν·
 ἴσον καὶ σπείρειν πόντον ἀλὸς πολίῃς.
 οὔτε γὰρ ἂν πόντον σπείρων βαθὺ λήιον ἀμῶς,
 οὔτε κακοὺς εὖ δρῶν εὖ πάλιν ἀντιλάβοις
 ἄπληστον γὰρ ἔχουσι κακοὶ νόον· ἦν δ' ἐν 109
 ἀμάρτης,
 τῶν πρόσθεν πάντων ἐκκέχυται φιλότης·
 οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ τὸ κάκιστον ἀμαυρίσκουσι⁷ παθόντες,
 μνήμα δ' ἔχουσ' ἀγαθῶν καὶ χάριν ἐξοπίσω

¹ Wel: mss ἂν or εἰ, cf 682 ² mss also (A) δρώης
³ mss also (A) ἄλλην ⁴ E (3rd pers subj very unlikely
 unless after imperative) mss -ση ⁵ E. mss κεν (added
 after loss of τι by hapl.) ⁶ Buttm.-Brunck Α μεγαδούναί
 θέλοι, others μεγάλου δοῦναι θέλει, μέγα δοῦν' ἐθέλει ⁷ Ahr.-E.
 mss μέγιστον ἐπαυρίσκουσι †? see p 13

THEOGNIS

93-100†²

If one praise thee so long as he see thee, and speak ill of thee behind thy back, such a comrade, for sure, is no very good friend—the man, to wit, whose tongue speaks fair and his mind thinks ill. But I would be friends with him that seeketh to know his comrade's temper and beareth with him like a brother. And thou, friend, consider this well, and someday hereafter thou'lt remember me.¹

101-104

May no mortal man persuade thee, Cynrus, to love a bad man; what advantage is a friend from among the baser sort? He would neither save thee from sore trouble and ruin, nor wish to share with thee any good thing he had.

105-112

He that doeth good to the baser sort getteth him little thanks; as well might he sow the waters of the hoary brine. Thou wouldst no more receive good again if thou didst good unto the bad, than reap long straw if thou sowedst the waters. For the mind of the bad is insatiable; make thou but one mistake,² and the friendship is poured out and lost from all the past. But the good are fain to blot out³ the worst of wrongs when they suffer it, whereas they keep remembrance⁴ afterward of good that is done them and abide grateful for it.⁵

¹ [97-100 = 1164 A-D] ² in your friendship with a vulgar man ³ doubtfully emended ⁴ *μνήμα* = *μνήμη*, cf 60, *γνώμαι* = *γνώματα* ⁵ cf Teles ap. Stob *Fl* 97 31 (109)

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

113-114

Μήποτε τοι¹ κακὸν ἄνδρα φίλον ποιεῖσθαι
 ἑταῖρον,
 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ φεύγειν ὥστε κακὸν λιμένα.

115-116

Πολλοί τοι πόσιος καὶ βρώσιός εἰσιν ἑταῖροι,
 ἐν δὲ σπουδαίῳ πρήγματι παυρότεροι.

117-118

Κιβδήλου δ' ἀνδρὸς γνῶναι χαλεπώτερον οὐδέν,
 Κύν', οὐδ' εὐλαβίης ἐσθ' ὅτι δεῖ² πλέονος.

119-128

Χρυσοῦ κιβδήλοιο καὶ ἀργύρου ἀνσχετὸς ἄτη,
 Κύρνε, καὶ ἐξευρεῖν ῥάδιον ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ·
 εἰ δὲ φίλου νόος ἀνδρὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι λελήθη
 ψυδρὸς ἑών, δόλιον δ' ἐν φρεσὶν ἦτορ ἔχῃ,
 τοῦτο θεὸς κιβδηλότατον ποίησε βροτοῖσιν,
 καὶ γνῶναι πάντων τοῦτ' ἀνιηρότατον. 124
 οὐ γὰρ ἂν³ εἰδείης ἀνδρὸς νόον οὐδὲ⁴ γυναικός,
 πρὶν πειρηθείης ὥσπερ ὑποζυγίου·
 οὐδέ κεν εἰκάσσαις ὥσπερ ποτ' ἐς ὦνιον⁵ ἐλθών·
 πολλάκι γὰρ γνώμην ἐξαπατῶσ' ἰδέαι.

129-130

Μήτ' ἀρετὴν εὖχου, Πολυπαῖδη, ἔξοχος εἶναι,
 μήτ' ἄφενος· μῶνον δ' ἀνδρὶ γένοιτο τύχη.

¹ Brunck: mss τὸν ² Platt: mss ἐστὶ περὶ ³ so
 Arist., cf 103-4 most mss of T. οὐδὲ γὰρ (see next note)
⁴ so Arist: mss of T οὔτε (whence the reading οὐδὲ γὰρ,
 through οὔτε γάρ) ⁵ Camer. mss ἐς ὥριον or ἐσώριον

THEOGNIS

113-114

Never make thou the bad thy friend, but flee him
ever like an evil anchorage.

115-116

Many, for sure, are cup-and-trencher friends, but
few a man's comrades in a grave matter.¹

117-118

Nothing is harder to know, Cynrus, than a counter-
feit man, nor is aught worth more heed.

119-128

The loss of counterfeit gold or silver, Cynrus, is
easily endured, nor hard is it for a man of skill to
find them out; but if the mind of a friend be false
within him² unbeknown, and the heart in his breast
deceitful, thus hath God made most counterfeit for
mankind, this is most grievous hard of all things to
discover; for mind of man nor yet of woman shalt
thou know till thou hast made trial of it like a beast
of burden, nor shalt thou ever guess it as when thou
comest to buy,³ because outward shapes do so often
cheat the understanding.⁴

129-130

Pray not for exceeding virtue⁵ nor wealth, son of
Polypaüs; all a man can get him is fortune.

¹ cf Ps -Phocyl 92 (γὰρ) ² the Greek is in his bosom
³ i.e. guess the value or quantity as when marketing; cf.
Theophr. *Char* 30 12 δοκοῦντος πρὸς τρόπου πωλεῖν ⁴ cf
Eur *Med* 516, Clem Al *Str* 6. 18 6 (119-124), Arist *Eth*
Eud 1237 b, Apost. 13. 15 k (125-6) ⁵ see p 233 n. 4

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

131-132

Οὐδὲν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς ἄμεινον
ἔπλετο τοῖς¹ ὁσίῃ, Κύρνε, μέμῃλε δίκη.

133-142

Οὐδεῖς, Κύρν', ἄτης καὶ κέρδεος αἷτιος αὐτός,
ἀλλὰ θεοὶ τούτων δώτορες ἀμφοτέρων·
οὐδέ τις ἀνθρώπων ἐργάζεται ἐν φρεσὶν εἰδὼς
ἐς τέλος εἶτ' ἀγαθὸν κίνυται² εἴτε κακόν
πολλάκι γὰρ δοκέων θήσειν κακὸν ἐσθλὸν ἔθηκεν
καὶ τε δοκῶν θήσειν ἐσθλὸν ἔθηκε κακόν.
οὐδέ τφ ἀνθρώπων παραγίνεται ὅσσα θέλησιν·
ἴσχει γὰρ χαλεπῆς πείρατ' ἀμνηχανίης.
ἀνθρωποὶ δὲ μάταια νομίζομεν, εἰδότες οὐδέν·
θεοὶ δὲ κατὰ σφέτερον πάντα τελοῦσι νόον.

143-144

Οὐδεῖς πω ξεῖνον, Πολυπαῖδῃ, ἔξαπατήσας
οὐδ' ἰκέτην θνητῶν³ ἀθανάτους ἔλαθεν.

145-148

Βούλεο δ' εὐσεβέων⁴ ὀλίγοις σὺν χρήμασιν οἰκεῖν
ἢ πλουτεῖν ἀδίκως χρήματα πασάμενος.
ἐν δὲ δικαιοσύνῃ συλλήβδην πᾶς' ἀρετὴ' στιν,
πᾶς δέ τ' ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, Κύρνε, δίκαιος ἐών.

149-150

Χρήματα μὲν δαίμων καὶ παγκάκῳ ἀνδρὶ δίδωσιν,
Κύρν'· ἀρετῆς δ' ὀλίγοις ἀνδράσι μοῖρ' ἔπεται.

¹ Vinet· mss οἷς, Stob ἐπλεθ' ὅσοις and ὁσίης μ δίκης

² E (162 not parallel) mss γίνεται ³ B θηπέων 'deceiving'
(cf. Hippon. 14, Hesych θηπητής, θήπων) perh rightly

⁴ Sch Arist -ως

THEOGNIS

131-132

There's nothing better in the world, Cynrus, than a father and mother who care for holy Right.¹

133-142

No man is himself the cause of loss and gain, Cynrus; the Gods are the givers of them both: nor doth any that laboureth know in his heart whether he moveth to a good end or a bad. For often when he thinketh he will make bad he maketh good, and maketh bad when he thinketh he will make good. Nor doth any man get what he wisheth; for his desires hold the ends of sore perplexity.² We men practise vain things, knowing nought, while the Gods accomplish all to their mind

143-144

No mortal man, son of Polypaus, ever deceived a stranger or suppliant unbeknown to the Gods

145-148

Choose rather to dwell with little wealth a pious man, than to be rich with possessions ill-gotten. Righteousness containeth the sum of all virtue; and every good man, Cynrus, is righteous.³

149-150

Possessions doth Heaven give even to the wicked, Cynrus, but the gift of virtue³ cometh to but few.⁴

¹ cf Stob *Fl* 79. 1 (131-2) ² i.e. naturally involve it
³ 147 = PHOCYLIDES 16, see p. 233 n 4 ⁴ cf Sch.
Arist *Eth Nic* 1129 b 29 (145-8) and see *Herm* 5. 79, 356,
cf. Isocr. *Demon* 38

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

151–152

"Υβριν, Κύρνε, θεὸς πρῶτον κακῶ ὥπασεν ἀνδρί,
οὐ μέλλει χώραν μηδεμίαν θέμεναι.¹

153–154

Τίκτει τοι κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν κακῶ² ὄλβος ἔπηται
ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ ὅτῳ μὴ νόος ἄρτιος ᾖ.

155–158

Μήποτέ μοι³ πενίην θυμοφθόρον ἀνδρὶ χολωθεὶς⁴
μηδ' ἀχρημοσυνην οὐλομένην⁵ πρόφερε·
Ζεὺς γάρ τοι τὸ τάλαντον ἐπιρρέπει ἄλλοτε
ἄλλως,⁶
ἄλλοτε μὲν πλουτεῖν, ἄλλοτε μηδὲν ἔχειν.

159–160

Μήποτε, Κύρν', ἀγορᾶσθαι ἔπος μέγα· οἶδε γὰρ
οὐδεὶς
ἀνθρώπων ὅτι νύξ χημέρη ἀνδρὶ τελεῖ.

161–164

Πολλοί τοι χρῶνται δειλαῖς φρεσί, δαίμονι δ'
ἔσθλῳ,
οἷς τὸ κακὸν δοκέειν γίγνεται εἰς ἀγαθόν·
εἰσὶν δ' οἱ βουλῇ τ' ἀγαθῇ καὶ δαίμονι δειλῷ
μοχθίζουσι, τέλος δ' ἔργμασιν οὐχ ἔπεται.

¹ most mss (A) -νον ² Sol πολὺς (and γὰρ for τοι, and ἀνθρώποισιν ὅσοις) ³ so Stob: mss of T τοι ⁴ Stob χαλεφθεὶς ⁵ Stob Κύρνε κακὴν ⁶ so Basil (who seems to have read θεὸς for Ζεὺς) and Stob, others ἄλλῳ read ἄλλῃ (corrected to ἄλλῳ)?

THEOGNIS

151-152

To an evil man whose place he is about to remove,
Cyrnus, God first giveth Pride.¹

153-154

Surfeit, for sure, begets pride¹ when prosperity
cometh to a bad man whose mind is not perfect²

155-158

When thou art wroth with a man, never, I pray
thee, reproach him with heartbreaking Penury nor
deadly Need; for surely 'tis Zeus poseth the scale at
one time on this side and another on that, now to be
rich and now again to have nothing.³

159-160

Never boast thou, Cyrnus, in assembly; for no
man living knoweth what a night and a day have to
accomplish for us.⁴

161-164

Many, for sure, have vile wits and a good fortune,⁵
and to these that which seemeth evil turneth to good;
and some there be that labour under good counsel
and vile fortune, and the end cometh not to what
they do⁶

¹ see p 235 n 2 ² = SOLON 6 9-10, Clem. Al.
Str 6 2 8 740, Sch. Pind. *O.* 13. 12, Diogen. 8. 22 (153)
³ cf Stob *Fl* 95, 15 (adding 179-80) (155-8), Apost. 8 28 a
(157-8); Basil *Lib. Gent.* 177 d (2 p 249 Garn) ⁴ cf
Apost. 11 88 a ⁵ see p 249 n 1 ⁶ cf Apost 14.
68 a (161-2)

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

165-166

Οὐδείς ἀνθρώπων οὔτ' ὄλβιος οὔτε πενιχρὸς
οὔτε κακὸς νόσφιν δαίμονος οὔτ' ἀγαθός.

167-168

Ἀλλ' ἄλλω κακὸν ἐστι, τὸ δ' ἀτρεκές ὄλβιος
οὐδείς
ἀνθρώπων ὁπόσους ἥελιος καθορά.

169-170

"Οὐ δὲ θεοὶ τιμῶσ', ὃν χῶ¹ μωμεύμενος αἰνεῖ·
ἀνδρὸς δὲ σπουδὴ γίνεται οὐδεμία.

171-172

Θεοῖς εὐχον· θεοῖς ἐστιν ἔπι κράτος·² οὔτοι ἄτερ
θεῶν
γίνεται ἀνθρώποις οὔτ' ἀγάθ' οὔτε κακά.

173-178

"Ἀνδρ' ἀγαθὸν πενίη πάντων δάμνησι μάλιστα
καὶ γήρως πολιοῦ,³ Κύρνε, καὶ ἡπιάλου·
ἦν δὲ χρῆ⁴ φεύγοντα καὶ ἐς βαθυκῆτα⁵ πόντον
ρίπτειν καὶ πετρέων, Κύρνε, κατ' ἡλιβάτων.
πᾶς⁶ γὰρ ἀνὴρ πενίη δεδμημένος⁷ οὔτε τι εἰπεῖν
οὔθ' ἔρξαι δύναται, γλῶσσα δέ οἱ δέδεται.

¹ B-E (B ὃν καὶ with K), = ὃν . . . τοῦτον: mss τιμῶσιν ὁ (ὅ) καὶ which some edd keep, but is there a parallel to ὁ καὶ with participle? ² B A θεοῖσιν ἐπικράτος, others οἷς ἐστι (ἐστι μέγα) κράτος ³ Peppm. μάλιον = μᾶλλον (Tyr 12 6)
⁴ all citations χρῆ πενίην ⁵ mss also and some citations μεγακῆτα ⁶ so all citations: mss of T. καὶ ⁷ Artem πεπεδημ.

¹ δαίμων here means a man's presiding deity, as we speak of a man's luck as something belonging to him ² cf. Sol.

THEOGNIS

165-166

No man living is rich or poor, bad or good, without fortune.¹

167-168

One man hath this ill, another that, and not one of all that the Sun beholdeth is happy in the strict truth of the word.²

169-170

He whom the Gods honour hath the praise even of him that blameth him³; but the zeal of a man counteth for nought.

171-172

Pray to the Gods; with the Gods is power; 'tis certain that without the Gods man getteth neither good nor ill.

173-178

Penury subdueth a good man more than all else, more than hoary Age, Cynus, or age⁴; to avoid Penury he should cast himself into the abysmal sea, or over a sheer precipice. For your victim of Penury can neither say nor do aught of any account, and his tongue, it is tied⁵

14 (168) ³ cf Shakesp *Sonnet* 95 . 'Cannot dispraise but in a kind of praise, | Naming thy name blesses an ill report' ⁴ prob malaria ⁵ cf. Stob *Fl.* 96. 16, Clem Al *Str* 4. 483, Plut *Com Not.* 2, Chrys ap Plut *Stoic Rep* 14, Sch Thuc 2. 43, Hermog *Prog* 4. 24 W, Aphth 68, *Rhet Gr* W 2 306, 309, *Pref.* 11, Theodoret 11 153, Sch Arist 4 8, 14, Cram *A P* 4. 404 30, Luc *Merc. Cond.* 5 10, *Tim* 26, Boiss *An Nov.* 181, 394, Eust. 998. 25, Amm. Marc 29 1. 21, Ehas *Prol.* Porph 6 15, Greg Naz *Virt.* 393 (175-6); Stob *Fl* 96 14 (adding 649-53, cf Luc), Artem. *On* 1 32, Plut *Poet Aud* 4, Arist *Eth Eud.* 1230 a. 12, Liban. *Decl* 1 88 (177-8); Stob *Fl* 96 15 (adding 155-8) (179-80)

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

179-180

Χρὴ γὰρ ὁμῶς ἐπὶ¹ γῆν τε καὶ εὐρέα νῶτα
θαλάσσης
δίξῃσθαι χαλεπῆς, Κύρνε, λύσιν πενίης.

181-182

Τεθνάμεναι, φίλε Κύρνε, πενιχρῶ βέλτερον ἀνδρὶ
ἢ ζῶειν χαλεπῇ τειρόμενον πενίῃ.

183-192

Κριοὺς μὲν καὶ ὄνους διζήμεθα, Κύρνε, καὶ ἵππους
εὐγενέας, καὶ τις βούλεται ἐξ ἀγαθῶν
πάσασθαι.² γῆμαι δὲ κακὴν κακοῦ οὐ μελεδαίνει
ἐσθλὸς ἀνὴρ, ἦν τις³ χρήματα πολλὰ διδῶ.⁴
οὐδὲ γυνὴ κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀναίνεται εἶναι ἄκοιτις
πλουσίου, ἀλλ' ἀφνεὸν βούλεται ἀντ' ἀγαθοῦ.
χρήματα γὰρ⁵ τιμῶσιν καὶ ἐκ κακοῦ ἐσθλὸς
ἔγῃμεν 189
καὶ κακὸς ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ· πλοῦτος ἔμειξε γένος
οὕτω μὴ θαύμαζε γένος, Πολυπαῖδη, ἄστῶν
μαυροῦσθαι· σὺν γὰρ μίσγεται ἐσθλὰ κακοῖς.

193-196

Αὐτὸς ὁ τοιαύτην⁶ εἰδὼς κακόπατριν εἰούσαν
εἰς οἴκους ἄγεται χρήμασι πείθομενος,
εὐδοξος κακόδοξον, ἐπεὶ κρατερὴ μιν ἀνάγκη
ἐντύει,⁷ ἥτ' ἀνδρὸς τλήμονα θῆκε νόον.

¹ some mss of Stob χρὴ δ' αἰετὰ κατὰ ² Rich: Xen κτήσ.:
mss of T βήσεσθαι (so Stob 70 9) (βήθ-), βίνεσθαι (marg.),
emendations in *mal p. 171* ³ so Xen mss of T αἰ

THEOGNIS

179-180

Upon land and eke upon the broad back of the sea,
Cyrnus, shouldest thou seek deliverance from
grievous Penury.

181-182

To the needy, dear Cyrnus, death is better than a
life oppressed with grievous Penury.

183-192

In rams and asses and horses, Cyrnus, we seek the
thoroughbred, and a man is concerned therein to get
him offspring of good stock; yet in marriage a good
man thinketh not twice of wedding the bad daughter
of a bad sire if the father give him many possessions,
nor doth the wife of a bad man disdain the bed of a
wealthy, but is fain rather to be rich than to be good.
For 'tis possessions they prize, and a good man
weddeth of bad stock and a bad man of good; race is
confounded of riches. In like manner, son of Poly-
paus, marvel thou not that the race of thy townsmen
is made obscure; 'tis because bad things are mingled
with good¹

193-196

Even he that knoweth her to be such, weddeth a
traitress for pelf, albeit he be of good repute and she
of ill, for he is urged by strong Necessity, who giveth
a man hardihood.

¹ Cf. Stob *Fl* 70 9 (183-6), Xen ap. Stob 88 14, Ps -Phocyl
201 (183-90), Arist ap Stob 86 25 (189), Themist 21 302 D

⁴ Stob φέρη ⁵ so Xen: mss of T μὲν ⁶ E. mss τοι
ταύτην ⁷ Brunck: mss -τύνει

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

197–208

Χρῆμα δ' ὃ μὲν Διόθεν καὶ σὺν δίκη ἀνδρὶ γένηται
καὶ καθαρῶς, αἰεὶ παρμόνιμον τελέθει·
εἰ δ' ἀδικῶς παρὰ καιρὸν ἀνὴρ φιλοκερδέει θυμῷ
κτῆσεται, εἴθ' ὄρκῳ παρ τὸ δίκαιον ἐλών, 201
αὐτίκα μὲν τι φέρειν κέρδος δοκεῖ, ἐς δὲ τελευτὴν
αὐθις ἔγεντο κακόν, θεῶν δ' ὑπερέσχε νόος.
ἀλλὰ τὰδ' ἀνθρώπων ἀπατᾷ νόον· οὐ γὰρ ἐπ'
αὐτοῦ¹

τίνονται μάκαρες πρήγματος ἀμπλακίας·
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν αὐτὸς ἔτεισε κακὸν χρέος, οὐδὲ φίλοισιν
ἄτην ἐξοπίσω παισὶν ἐπεκρέμασεν· 206
ἄλλον δ' οὐ κατέμαρψε δίκη· θάνατος γὰρ
ἀναιδής
πρόσθεν ἐπὶ βλεφάροις ἔζετο κῆρα φέρων.

209–210

Οὐδεῖς τοι² φεύγοντι φίλος καὶ πιστὸς ἐταῖρος·
τῆς δὲ φυγῆς ἐστὶν τοῦτ' ἀνιηρότερον.

211–212

Οἶνόν τοι πίνειν πουλὺν κακόν· ἦν δέ τις αὐτὸν
πίνη ἐπισταμένως, οὐ κακὸς ἀλλ' ἀγαθός.

¹ Jac mss -τοῦς

² 332A οὐκ ἔστιν (so Clem. Al.)

THEOGNIS

197-208

A possession ¹ that cometh from Zeus, and of right and in seemly wise, abideth evermore; but if one shall win it unrighteously and unduly with a covetous heart, or by unrighteous seizure upon an oath, at the first him seemeth to get him gain, but in the end it becometh bad likewise, and the mind of the Gods overcometh him. But these things deceive man's understanding, seeing that the Blessed Ones requite not wrongdoing at the moment; nay, albeit this man may pay his evil debt himself and not make ruin to overhang his dear children after him, that other man Retribution overtaketh not, because too soon did unconscionable Death settle upon his eyelids fraught with his Doom.

209-210

Surely no man is friend and faithful comrade unto one that is in exile; and this is more grievous than the exile itself ²

211-212

Surely to drink much wine is an ill; yet if one drink it with knowledge, wine is not bad but good ³

¹ or *perh.* wealth, of Poll 9 87 ² cf 332 A, Clem. Al
Str. 6 8 1 427 ³ *not* he is not bad, etc

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

213-218

Θυμέ,¹ φίλους κατὰ πάντας ἐπίστρεφε ποικίλον
ἦθος,²

ὀργὴν συμμίσγων ἥντιν' ³ ἕκαστος ἔχει.
πουλύπου ὀργὴν ἴσχε πολυπλόκου,⁴ ὃς ποτὶ πέτρῃ
τῇ προσομιλήσῃ ⁵ τοῖος ἰδεῖν ἐφάνη. 216
νῦν μὲν τῇδ' ἐφέπου, τότε δ' ἄλλοῖος χροῶ γίνου.
κρέσσων τοι σοφίῃ γίνεται ἀτροπίης.

219-220

Μηδὲν ἄγαν ἄσχαλλε ταρασσομένων πολιητέων,
Κύρνε, μέσσην δ' ἔρχεω τὴν ὁδὸν ὥσπερ ἐγώ

221-226†

Ὅστις τοι δοκέει τὸν πλησίον ἰδμεναι οὐδέν,
ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μῦνος ποικίλα δῆνέ' ἔχειν,²
κεῖνός γ' ἄφρων ἐστὶ νόου βεβλαμμένος ἐσθλοῦ.
ἴσως γὰρ πάντες ποικίλ' ἐπιστάμεθα, 224
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἐθέλει κακοκερδείησιν ἔπεσθαι,
τῷ δὲ δολοπλοκίαι μᾶλλον ἄπιστοι ἄδον.

¹ so A and Lat transl: other mss and 1071 Κύρνε

² Will. points out that ll 213 and 221 are imitated by Soph Ant. 705 and 707, which may be an indication that he found them near one another, the play was brought out in 442 or 441 ³ ἥτιν' ⁴ Plut. Amic. Mult. πουλύποδος νόον ἴσχε

THEOGNIS

213-218

Turn, my heart, towards all friends a changeful habit, mingling thy disposition to be like unto each¹ Be thy disposition that of the convolvèd polyp, which taketh the semblance of the rock he hath converse with; now be guided this way,² and now be of different hue. Surely skill is better than unchangeableness.³

219-220

When thy fellow-townsmen are confounded, Cynus, be not thou too much vexed at aught they do, but walk the road, like me, in the middle.

221-226†

Surely he that thinketh his neighbour knoweth nought and he alone hath subtle arts, he is a fool and his good wits attainted; truth to tell, we all alike have our wiles, but one is loath to follow base gam, while another taketh pleasure rather in false cozenings.⁴

¹ *lit* mingling the disposition which each has, *or* mingling thy disposition with his? ² *or* follow (*i e* imitate) this rock
³ the opposite of versatility, cf Ath 7. 317 a, 12 513 d, Plut *Amic Mult* 9, *Soll. An* 27, *Q Nat* 19, Diogen 1 23, Sch Luc *Salt.* 67, Jul *Mis* 349, Philostr *Vit Soph* 1 5 (215-6) [= 332 A-B] ⁴ cf. Stob *Fl* 4 27 (221-6)

πολύφρονος (χρόου), *Soll* and *Q* πολυχρόου, cf. Diogen
⁵ so Ath mss of T. σει, Plut τῆπερ δμιλῆσθ

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

227-232

Πλούτου δ' οὐδὲν τέρμα πεφασμένον ἀνθρώποισιν·
οἱ γὰρ νῦν ἡμῶν πλείστον ἔχουσι βίον,
διπλάσιον σπεύδουσι. τίς ἂν κορέσειεν ἅπαντας ;
χρήματά τοι θνητοῖς γίνεται ἀφροσύνη· 230
ἄτη δ' ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀναφαίνεται, ἣν ὁπότε Ζεὺς
πέμψῃ τειρομένοις, ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἔχει.¹

233-234

Ἀκρόπολις καὶ πύργος ἐὼν κενεόφρονι δήμῳ,
Κύρην, ὀλίγης τίμης ἔμμορεν ἐσθλὸς ἀνὴρ.

235-236

Οὐδὲν ἔτι πρέπει² ἡμῖν ἅτ' ἀνδράσι σφζομένοισιν·
ἄλλ' ὥς πάγχυ πόλει, Κύρνε, ἄλωσομένη.

237-254

Σοὶ μὲν ἐγὼ πτέρ' ἔδωκα, σὺν οἷς ἐπ' ἀπείρονα
πόντον
πωτήσῃ καὶ³ γῆν πᾶσαν ἀειρόμενος
ῥηϊδίως· θοίνης δὲ καὶ εἰλαπίνῃσι παρέσση
ἐν πάσαις, πολλῶν κείμενος ἐν στόμασιν, 240
καὶ σε σὺν αὐλίσκοισι λιγυφθόγοις νέοι ἄνδρες
εὐκόσμως ἐρατοὶ καλὰ τε καὶ λιγέα
ἄσονται. καὶ ὅταν δνοφερῆς⁴ ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης
βῆς πολυκωκύτους εἰς Ἀῖδαο δόμους,

¹ Sol ἀνδράσι κεῖται (227), διπλασίως (229), κέρδεά τοι θνητοῖς
ἔπασαν ἀθάνατοι (230), αὐτῶν ἀπὸ δόταν (231), τισομένην (232)

² Ahr· Will οὐδ' ἔτι τι πρ : Α οὐδὲν ἐπιτρέπει, others οὐδέ τι
(οὐδ' ἔτι γε) πρέπει ³ B· mss κατὰ ⁴ mss also -ροῖς

THEOGNIS

227-232

As for wealth, there's no end¹ set clear for man;
for such as have to-day the greatest riches among us,
these have twice the eagerness that others have²;
and who can satisfy all? 'Tis sure our possessions
turn to folly, and a ruin is revealed thereout, which one
man hath now and another then, whenever it be that
Zeus send it him in his misery.³

233-234

A good man that is tower and citadel, Cyrnus,
unto an empty-minded people, Fate giveth him
little honour.

235-236

Nothing beseems us any more as men sure of life,
Cyrnus, but as a city that will assuredly be taken

237-254

I have given thee wings to fly with ease aloft the
boundless sea and all the land No meal or feast but
thou'lt be there, couched 'twixt the lips of many a
guest,⁴ and lovely youths shall sing thee clear and well
in orderly wise to the clear-voiced flute. And when
thou comest to go down to the lamentable house of
Hades in the depths of the gloomy earth, never,

¹ or goal

² or run twice as hard as the others

³ = SOLON 13 71-6; cf. *Plut. Div Cup* 4 (227)

⁴ *κει-
μενος* suggests 'reclining at table', the dining-couches would
hold three, cf. *Plat. Symp.* 213 b

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

οὐδέποτ' οὐδὲ θανὼν ἀπολεῖς κλέος, ἀλλὰ μελήσεις
 ἄφθιτον ἀνθρώποις αἰὲν ἔχων ὄνομα, 246
 Κύρνε, καθ' Ἑλλάδα γῆν στρωφόμενος ἡδ' ἀνὰ
 νήσους,
 ἰχθυόεντα περῶν πόντον ἐπ' ἀτρύγετον,
 οὐχ ἵππων νώτοισιν ἐφήμενος, ἀλλὰ σε πέμψει
 ἀγλαὰ Μουσάων δῶρα ἰοστεφάνων 250
 πᾶσιν ὅσοισι¹ μέμηλε, καὶ ἐσσομένοισιν αἰοιδῇ²
 ἔσση ὁμῶς, ὅφρ' ἦ³ γῇ τε καὶ ἡέλιος.
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ὀλίγης παρὰ σεῦ οὐ τυγχάνω αἰδοῦς,
 ἀλλ' ὥσπερ μικρὸν παῖδα λόγοις μ' ἀπατᾷς.

255—256

Κάλλιστον τὸ δικαιοτάτον, λῶστον δ' ὑγιαίνειν,
 πρᾶγμα δὲ τερπνότατον τοῦ⁴ τις ἐρᾷ τὸ τυχεῖν.

257—260

Ἴππος ἐγὼ καλὴ καὶ ἀεθλίη, ἀλλὰ κάκιστον
 ἄνδρα φέρω, καί μοι τοῦτ' ἀνιηρότατον·
 πολλάκι δ' ἡμέλλησα διαρρήξασα χαλινὸν
 φεύγειν, ἀπωσαμένη⁵ τὸν κακὸν ἡνίοχον.

¹ E. A πᾶσι διὸς οἷσι (i.e. ΔΙ for Ν), others πᾶσιν (πᾶσι γὰρ) οἷσι. ² A -δῇ. ³ Lucas, cf. 984, 1354. mss ὅφρ' ἂν. ⁴ Arist. *Elh. N.* ἡδιστον δὲ πέφυχ' οὗ (one mss ἡδ δὲ τυχεῖν οὗ τις ἕκαστος ἐρᾷ), *Eud.* πάντων δ' ἡδ. οὗ τις ἐρᾷ τὸ τ, *Stob.* ἡδ δὲ τ ὧν τις ἕκαστος ἐρᾷ and ῥᾷστον for λῶστον. mss of T. οὗ τὸ is objt. ⁵ B mss φεύγειν ἀπωσ. (ῶσ.)

¹ like Bellerophon; or like the horses of Pelops, cf. 258

THEOGNIS

albeit thou be dead, shalt thou lose thy fame, but men will think of thee as one of immortal name, Cyrrnus, who rangeth the land of Greece and the isles thereof —crossing the fishy unharvestable deep not upon horseback mounted¹ but sped of the glorious gifts of the violet-crownèd Muses unto all that care to receive thee; and living as they thou shalt be a song unto posterity so long as Earth and Sun abide. Yet as for me, thou hast no respect for me, great or small, but deceivest me with words as if I were a little child.²

255-256

The fairest thing is the most righteous, the best thing health, and the sweetest to have our heart's desire.³

257-260

I am a fair and champion steed, but my rider's a knave, and this grieveth me much; often have I almost taken the bit between my teeth,⁴ cast my evil rider, and run away.⁵

Cic. *Tusc.* 2 27 67, father of the Megarian hero Alcaethous, cf. 774 (Crus) ² for the cynical contrast in the last sentence cf. 24 (δέ) ³ cf. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1099 a, 25 (Δηλιακὸν ἐπὶ γράμμα), *Eth. Eud.* 1 1, Stob. *Fl.* 103. 8 ⁴ lit broken through the halter or bridle ⁵ in the Greek the horse, as often without particular significance (e.g. 988), is feminine, the theme is not necessarily erotic; the horse may be a city ruled by a bad man

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

261-266

Οὐ μοι πίνεται οἶνος, ἐπεὶ παρὰ παιδὶ τερείνῃ
 ἄλλος ἀνὴρ κατέχει πολλὸν ἐμοῦ κακίων·
 ψυχρόν μοι παρὰ τῇδε φίλοι πίνουσι τοκῆς,
 ὥστε κάμ' ὑδρεῖω¹ καὶ με γοῶσα φέρει, 264
 ἔνθα μέσσην περὶ παιῖδα βαλὼν² ἀγκῶν' ἐφίλησα
 δειρήν, ἥ δὲ τέρεν φθέγγετ' ἀπὸ στόματος.

267-270

Γνωτὴ τοι πευίῃ γε καὶ ἀλλοτρίῃ περ ἐοῦσα·
 οὔτε γὰρ εἰς ἀγορὴν ἔρχεται οὔτε δίκας·
 πάντῃ γὰρ τοῦλασσον ἔχει, πάντῃ δ' ἐπίμυκτος,
 πάντῃ δ' ἐχθρὴ ὁμῶς γίνεται ἔνθα περ ᾗ.

271-278

Ἴσως τοι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα θεοὶ θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις
 γῆρας τ' οὐλόμενον καὶ νεότητ' ἔδωσαν·
 τῶν πάντων δ' ὁ³ κάκιστον ἐν ἀνθρώποις θανά-
 του τε
 καὶ πασέων νοούσων ἐστὶ πονηρότερον,⁴
 παῖδας ἐπεὶ θρέψαιο καὶ ἄρμενα πάντα παρά-
 σχοις, 275
 χρήματα δ' ἐγκαταθῆς⁵ πόλλ' ἀνιηρὰ παθῶν,
 τὸν πατέρ' ἐχθαίρουσι, καταρῶνται δ' ἀπολέσθαι,
 καὶ στυγέουσ' ὥσπερ πτωχὸν ἐσερχόμενον.

¹ E mss ὥσθ' ἅμα θ' ὑδρεῖει (unemended the word order of the line is impossible) ² Herm mss λαβὼν ³ Schn : mss δὲ ⁴ Hart : mss -τατον ⁵ perh opt for -θέλης, cf 396 where A has ἐμπεφυγῆ (opt. ?)

THEOGNIS

261-266

'Tis not wine that's drunk to me, now that a man not near so good as I prevaiileth with¹ a tender lass; her parents drink to me in cold water before her, so that the pitcher wearies her, and she weeps for me as she carries it thither where I did put my arm about her waist and kiss her neck, and her lips murmured so soft and sweet.²

267-270

'Tis sure that Penury is easily known even though she be not of ours, coming into neither marketplace nor lawcourt; for hers is everywhere the lesser part, scoffed at is she everywhere, and everywhere hated, wheresoever she be.

271-278

'Tis sure that the Gods have given mortal man fair share of all else, given them both Youth and baleful Age; but the worst of all their gifts, worse than death and any disease, is when thou hast brought up children and supplied all their need, and with much labour and trouble laid up possessions for them, and they hate their father and curse him, loathe him as they might a beggarman that came among them.

¹ *or* is staying at the house of ² the explanation and most of the translation (except for line 4) is Mr. Harrison's, but the custom of drinking confusion to a man in water, as he admits, seems not to be mentioned elsewhere; for the contrast, however, between wine and water cf. Ar *Lys* 233 ff.

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

279-282

Εἰκός τοι¹ κακὸν ἄνδρα κακῶς τὰ δίκαια νομίζειν,
 μηδεμίαν κατόπισθ' ἄζόμενον νέμεσιν·
 δειλῷ γάρ τ' ἀπάλαμνα βροτῷ² πάρα πόλλ'
 ἀνελέσθαι
 πὰρ ποδός, ἡγείσθαι θ' ὥς καλὰ πάντα τιθεῖ.

283-292

Ἄστῶν μηδενὶ πιστὸς ἐὼν πόδα τῶνδε³ πρόβαινε,
 μήθ' ὄρκῳ πίσυνος μήτε φίλημοσύνη,
 μηδ' εἰ Ζῆν' ἐθέλῃ παρέχειν βασιλῆα μέγιστον
 ἔγγυον ἀθανάτων πιστὰ τιθεῖν ἐθέλων. 286
 οὐ⁴ γάρ τοι πόλει ὧδε καλοψόγῳ⁵ ἀνδάνει οὐδὲν
 ὥς δι' ὅτι ζῶεν⁶ πολλοὶ ἀνολβότερον·
 νῦν δὲ τὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν κακὰ γίνεται ἐσθλὰ κακοῖσιν
 ἀνδράσιν·⁷ ἡγέγνται δ' ἐκτραπέλοισι νόμοις·
 αἰδῶς μὲν γὰρ ὄλωλεν, ἀναιδείῃ δὲ καὶ ὕβρις 291
 νικῆσασα δίκην γῆν κατὰ πᾶσαν ἔχει.

293-294

Οὐδὲ λέων αἰεὶ κρέα daίνυται, ἀλλὰ μιν ἔμπης
 καὶ κρατερόν περ ἐόνθ' αἰρεῖ⁸ ἀμηχανίῃ.

295-298

Κωτίλῳ ἀνθρώπῳ σιγᾶν χαλεπώτατον ἄχθος,
 φθειγγόμενος δ' ἀδδῆς⁹ οἷσι παρῇ πέλεται,¹⁰
 ἐχθαίρουσι δὲ πάντες,¹¹ ἀναγκαίῃ δ' ἐπίμειξις
 ἀνδρὸς τοιούτου συμποσίῳ τελέθει.

¹ sugg. B. mss τὸν ² A βροταί ³ Herm: mss τόνδε

⁴ E: mss ἐν from above (written ἐγγυον?) ⁵ Boiss: mss κακοψ.

⁶ E, for opt cf 382: A ὡσδετοσσωσαιε, others ὡς δὲ τὸ σῶσαι οἱ all mss ἀνολβότεροι ⁷ Crus. mss ἀνδρῶν

⁸ A αἶρει ⁹ B, cf. Hesych ἀδής· ἀτερπής mss ἀδαής

¹⁰ Cam mss μελ ¹¹ A -τας

THEOGNIS

279-282

'Tis but likely that the bad man should think ill of what is right, and have no respect for any retribution to come; for easy is it for any miserable mortal to take up many wicked things from before his feet and think that he maketh all things fair.

283-292

If thou be'st honest,¹ go not a step to meet any of these thy fellow-townsmen, in reliance neither on oath nor friendliness, not though, willing to grant thee security, he give thee the Great King of the Immortals for his surety. A fault-finding city liketh nothing so well as that which shall make many men live more unhappily,² and now the ills of the good become the joys of the bad, who rule with strange laws; for Honour is perished, and Shamelessness and Pride have conquered Right and prevail in the land.

293-294

Not even a lion hath always flesh to his supper, for all his might he is sometimes at a loss to get him meat.

295-298

To a talkative man silence is a sore burden, and his speech a weariness to his company; all hate him, and the mingling of such a man in a carousal cometh only of necessity.³

¹ or trusting them ² this couplet is too corrupt for certain emendation ³ i.e. we invite him as seldom as possible; for ἀναγκαῖος and ἀναγκαϊότατος 'smallest possible' cf. Eur. Or. 230, Thuc. i. 90

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

299-300

Οὐδεὶς λῆ¹ φίλος εἶναι ἐπὴν κακὸν ἀνδρὶ γένηται,
οὐδ' ὧ κ' ἐκ γαστροῦ, Κύρνε, μιᾶς γεγόνῃ.

301-302

Πικρὸς καὶ γλυκὺς ἴσθι καὶ ἀρπαλέος καὶ ἀπηνῆς
λάτρισι καὶ δμῶσιν γείτοσί τ' ἀγχιθύροις.

303-304

Οὐ χρὴ κιγκλίζειν ἀγαθὸν βίον, ἀλλ' ἀτρεμίζειν,
τὸν δὲ κακὸν κινεῖν ἔστ' ἂν ἐς ὄρθ' ἐλάσῃς.²

305-308

Τοὶ κακοὶ οὐ πάντες³ κακοὶ ἐκ γαστροῦ γε-
γόνασιν,
ἀλλ' ἀνδρεσσι κακοῖς συνθέμενοι φιλήν
ἔργα τε δείλ' ἔμαθον καὶ ἔπη δύσφημα καὶ ὕβριν,
ἐλπόμενοι κείνους πάντα λέγειν ἔτυμα.

309-312

Ἐν μὲν συσσίτοισιν ἀνὴρ πεπνυμένος εἶναι,
πάντα δέ μιν λήθειν ὥς ἀπεόντα δοκεῖ·
εἰς δὲ φέρει⁴ τὰ γελοῖα, θύρηφι δὲ καρτερός ἐστι,⁵
γινώσκων ὀργὴν ἥντιν' ἕκαστος ἔχει.

313-314

Ἐν μὲν μαινομένοις μάλα μαίνομαι, ἐν δὲ δικαίοις
πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰμὶ δικαιοτάτος.

¹ B: A δη, others οὐδὲ θέλει, οὐδ' ἐθέλει ² E mss ὀρθὰ
λάβης. Emp. βάλης ³ so A: others -τως ⁴ A φεροι,
others φέρει(ν) ⁵ E mss εἴη(ς)

THEOGNIS

299-300

Nobody's lief to be a man's friend when evil befalls him, nay, Cyrrus, not though he be born of the same womb.

301-302

Be thou bitter and sweet, kind and harsh, to hireling and to slave and to the neighbour at thy gate.

303-304

The good life should not be kept ever on the wag, but quiet rather; the evil life shouldest thou stir till thou drive it into safety.¹

305-308

The bad are not all bad from the womb, but have learnt base works and unholy words and wanton outrage from friendship with the bad because they thought all they said was true

309-312

Your wise man seemeth to be one of his company and yet all they say or do seemeth to escape him as if he were not there, he contributes his jests and is outwardly patient, seeking to know ² the temper of each guest.

313-314

Among the frenzied ³ I am right frenzied, and among the righteous the most righteous man alive.

¹ the metaphor is perh. of the wind blowing a ship knowing ² or
³ i.e. merry with wine

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

315-318

Πολλοί τοι πλουτοῦσι κακοί, ἀγαθοὶ δὲ πένονται·
 ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς τούτοις¹ οὐ διαμειφόμεθα
 τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν πλοῦτον, ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν ἔμπεδον αἰεὶ,²
 χρήματα δ' ἀνθρώπων ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἔχει.

319-322

Κύρν', ἀγαθὸς μὲν ἀνὴρ γνώμην ἔχει ἔμπεδον αἰεὶ,
 τολμᾷ δ' ἔν τε κακοῖς κείμενος ἔν τ' ἀγαθοῖς·³
 εἰ δὲ θεὸς κακῷ⁴ ἀνδρὶ βίον καὶ πλοῦτον ὀπάσσει,
 ἀφραίνων κακίην⁵ οὐ δύναται κατέχειν.

323-324

Μήποτ' ἐπὶ σμικρῇ προφάσει φίλον ἄνδρ'
 ἀπολέσσαι
 πειθόμενος χαλεπῇ, Κύρνε, διαιβολίῃ.⁶

325-328

Εἴ τις ἀμαρτωλῇσι φίλων ἐπὶ παντὶ χολῶτο,
 οὔποτ' ἂν ἀλλήλοις ἄρθμοι οὐδὲ φίλοι
 εἶεν. ἀμαρτωλαὶ γὰρ ἐπ'⁷ ἀνθρώποισιν ἔπονται
 θνητοῖς, Κύρνε· θεοὶ δ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσι φέρειν.

329-330

Χὼ βραδὺς ὦν εὐβουλος ἔλεν⁸ ταχὺν ἄνδρα
 διώκων,
 Κύρνε, σὺν εὐθείῃ θεῶν δίκῃ ἀθανάτων

¹ Sol γὰρ πλουτεῦσι and αὐτοῖς ² Sol ἐστιν ³ some
 mss and Stob ἐν τ' ἀγαθοῖς κ ἐν τε κακοῖς ⁴ Lucas κακῷ
 θεὸς for metrical reasons, perh rightly ⁵ Stob βίοντον
⁶ B: mss διαβ ⁷ E mss ἐν ⁸ Jac -E mss καὶ
 βραδὺς εὐβουλος εἶλεν (corruption followed inversion εὐβ ὦν)

THEOGNIS

315-318

Many bad men, for sure, are rich, and many good men poor; yet will we not change our virtue for these men's wealth, seeing that virtue endureth but possessions belong now to this man and now to that ¹

319-322

A good man, Cynus, hath an understanding that abideth,² and he beareth his hap well, be it good or ill; but if God bestow a living and wealth upon one that is bad, he is not wise enough to restrain his badness.³

323-324

Be not persuaded by evil slander, Cynus, to bring a friend to ruin upon a slight pretext.

325-328

If a man grow always angry with a friend's offence, they will never be friends and at peace: for offences against men are natural⁴ to mortals, Cynus; 'tis the Gods that will not bear offences.

329-330

Even the slow, if he be well advised, overtaketh the swift, Cynus, with aid of the straight judgment of the Immortal Gods.

¹ = SOLON 15, cf Stob *Fl* i 16 (315-8) ² Williams

'keeps his resolution unshaken' ³ cf. Stob. 37 3 (319-22)

⁴ *lit* are natural against, or in the case of, men, the emphatic position of *θυγατρὶς* before the vocative helps to separate it from *ἀνθρώποις*

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

331-332

"Ησυχος ὥσπερ ἐγὼ μέσσην ὁδὸν ἔρχεο ποσσίν,
μηδ' ἐτέροισι δίδου,¹ Κύρνε, τὰ τῶν ἐτέρων.

332A-332B

Οὐκ ἔστιν φεύγοντι φίλος καὶ πιστὸς ἐταῖρος·
τῆς δὲ φυγῆς ἔστιν τοῦτ' ἀνιηρότατον.²

333-334

Μήποτε φεύγοντ' ἄνδρ' ἐπὶ ἐλπίδι,³ Κύρνε,
φιλήσης·
οὔτι⁴ γὰρ οἴκαδε βὰς γίνεται αὐτὸς⁵ ἔτι.

335-336

Μηδὲν ἄγαν σπεύδειν· πάντων μέσ' ἄριστα· καὶ
οὕτως,
Κύρν', ἔξεις ἀρετήν, ἦντε λαβεῖν χαλεπόν.

337-340

Ζεὺς μοι τῶν τε φίλων δοίη τισιν οἷ με φιλεῦσιν,
τῶν τ' ἐχθρῶν μείζον, Κύρνε, δυνησαμένων·⁶
χοῦτως ἂν δοκέοιμι μετ' ἀνθρώπων θεὸς εἶναι,
εἴ μ' ἀποτεισάμενον μοῖρα κίχαι⁷ θανάτου.

¹ so Stob. : mss of T διδούς ² this couplet in A only,
see on 209 ³ sugg. B · Herm. ἀνέρ' ἐπ' mss ἄνδρα ἐπ'

ἐλπ ⁴ mss οὐδὲ ⁵ cf 622 and Hom *e g Od* 8 107.
⁶ Sitzler : mss -σόμενον ⁷ Herm mss κίχρη

THEOGNIS

331-332

Walk gently, as I, in the midst of the way, Cyrnus,
and never give one man's goods to another ¹

332A-332B

There's no friend and faithful comrade to one in
exile, and this is exile's most grievous part ²

333-334

Never make friends with a man in exile, Cyrnus,
with an eye to the future, for when he turneth home-
ward he becometh quite another man.

335-336

Be not over-eager in any matter—midst is best in
everything—and thus shalt thou have virtue,³
Cyrnus, which is a thing hard to come by.

337-340

Zeus grant me to repay the friends that love me,⁴
and mine enemies that have proved stronger than I;
then shall I seem a God among men, if the destiny of
death overtake me when all is paid.

¹ cf Stob *Fl* 15 6 (331-2) ² cf. Clem. *Al. Str.* 6. 8 1
(332 A) [= 209-10] ³ see p 233 n 4 ⁴ i.e. those dear
to me who love me

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

341-350

Ἄλλὰ Ζεῦ τέλεσόν μοι Ὀλύμπιε καίριον εὐχὴν,
 δὸς δέ μοι ἀντὶ κακῶν καὶ τι παθεῖν ἀγαθόν·
 τεθναίην δ' εἰ μή τι κακῶν ἄμπαυμα μεριμνέων
 εὐροίμην, δοίην τ' ¹ ἀντ' ἀνιῶν ἀνίας.
 αἴσα γὰρ οὕτως ἐστί· τίσις δ' οὐ φαίνεται ἡμῖν
 ἀνδρῶν οἱ τὰ μὰ ἄχρηματ' ἔχουσι βίη 346
 συλήσαντες· ἐγὼ δὲ κύων ἐπέρησα χαράδρην
 χειμάρρῳ ποταμῷ πάντ' ἀποσεισάμενος.
 τῶν εἴη μέλαν αἷμα πιεῖν, ἐπὶ τ' ἐσθλὸς ὄροιο
 δαίμων, ὃς κατ' ἐμὸν νοῦν τελέσειε τάδε.

351-354

Ἄ δειλὴ Πενίη, τί μένεις προλιποῦσα παρ' ἄλλον
 ἄνδρ' ἰέναι; μὴ δὴ μ' ² οὐκ ἐθέλοντα φίλει,
 ἀλλ' ἴθι καὶ δόμον ἄλλον ἐποίχεο, μηδὲ μεθ'
 ἡμέων
 αἰεὶ δυστήνου τοῦδε βίου μέτεχε.

355-360

Τόλμα, Κύρνε, κακοῖσιν, ἐπεὶ κάσθλοῖσιν ἔχαιρες,
 εὐτέ σε καὶ τούτων μοῖρ' ἐπέβαλλεν ἔχειν·
 ὥς δέ περ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν ἔλαβες κακόν, ὥς δέ καὶ
 αὖτις
 ἐκδύναι περὶ θεοῖσιν ἐπενχόμενος, 358
 μηδὲ λήην ἐπίφαινε· κακὸν δέ τι, ³ Κύρν', ἐπι-
 φαίνων ⁴
 παύρους κηδεμόνας σῆς κακότητος ἔχεις.

¹ A δ', cf 359

τί (τί δέ) δὴ and φιλεῖς

² Bek: A μ' ἦν δὴν and φιλεῖ, others

³ A τε

⁴ Brunck mss -νειν

THEOGNIS

341-350

Fulfil my prayer, O Olympian Zeus, and grant me good hap instead of ill. May I die if I find no surcease of evil cares in the giving of pain for pain. For this wise is my due, yet no vengeance appeareth unto me upon the men that took my possessions by force and have them still, while I am the dog that crossed the water but lost all in the torrent stream.¹ Whose red blood be it mine to drink, and may a good Spirit arise ² to accomplish this as I would have it done.

351-354

O thou miserable Penury, why delayest thou to leave me for some other man? I prithee love me not against my will, but away and begone to another house, and share not evermore this wretched life with me

355-360

Bear up, Cyrnus, in ill fortune, because once thou rejoicdest in good when Fate enjoined that thou shouldest share in that; and even as thou didst receive evil of good men, so again strive thou rather to be quit thereof by prayer unto the Gods, than bring it too much into the light; the displaying of misfortune, Cyrnus, meaneth few comforters in misery.

¹ for ἀποσείω of involuntary loss cf ἀπόλλυμι and ἀποβάλλω
² or keep watch (ῥομαι)

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

361-362

Ἀνδρός τοι κραδίη μινύθει μέγα πῆμα παθόντος,
Κύρν', ἀποτεινυμένου δ' αὖξεται ἐξοπίσω.

363-364

Εὖ κώτιλλε τὸν ἐχθρόν· ὅταν δ' ὑποχείριος ἔλθῃ,
τεῖσαί νιν πρόφασιν μηδεμίαν θέμενος.

365-366

Ἴσχε νόφ,¹ γλώσσης δὲ τὸ μείλιχον αἶεν ἐπέστω·
δειλῶν τοι τελέθει καρδίη ὀξυτέρῃ.

367-370

Οὐ δύναμαι γνῶναι νόον ἀστῶν ὄντιν' ἔχουσιν·
οὔτε γὰρ εὖ ἔρδων ἀνδάνω οὔτε κακῶς.
μωμεῦνται δέ με πολλοί, ὁμῶς κακοὶ ἡδὲ καὶ
ἐσθλοί,
μιμῆσθαι δ' οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀσόφων δύναται.

371-372

Μή μ' ἀέκοντα λίην² κεντῶν ὑπ' ἄμαξαν ἔλαυνε
εἰς φιλότητα βίη,² Κύρνε, προσελκόμενος.

¹ Α Ἴσχι νόφ, others Ἴσχε νόον ² λιήν and βίη thus transposed by B (sugg) ; both follow τα and precede κ

THEOGNIS

361-362

'Tis certain the heart of a man shrinketh small in great trouble, Cyrnus, and thereafter increaseth when he taketh requital of it.

363-364

Speak thy enemy fair, but when thou hast him in thy power be avenged without pretext.

365-366

Be firm in thy mind, but let gentleness be ever upon thy tongue; 'tis sure the heart of the baser sort is quicker to wrath.

367-370

I cannot read the disposition of my fellow-townsmen, for I please them no more by any good I do them than by any harm¹ Many find fault with me, as well bad men as good, but none of the unlearned can imitate me²

371-372

Drive me not, with overmuch goading, under the yoke against my will, Cyrnus, by drawing me into friendship perforce.

¹ [= 1184 A-B]

² cf. ZEUXIS fr 2

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

373-392†

Ζεῦ φίλε, θαυμάζω σε· σὺ γὰρ πάντεσσιν
ἀνάσσεις

τίμην αὐτὸς ἔχων καὶ μεγάλην δύναμιν,
ἀνθρώπων δ' εὖ οἶσθα νόον καὶ θυμὸν ἐκάστου,
σὸν δὲ κράτος πάντων ἔσθ' ὕπατον, βασιλεῦ·
πῶς δὴ σευ, Κρονίδη, τολμᾷ νόος ἄνδρας ἀλιτροὺς
ἐν ταύτῃ μοίρῃ τόν τε δίκαιον ἔχειν, 378
ἦν τ' ἐπὶ σωφροσύνην τρεφθῇ¹ νόος, ἦν τε πρὸς
ὑβριν

ἀνθρώπων ἀδίκους ἔργμασι πειθομένων ;
οὐδέ τι κεκριμένον πρὸς δαίμονος ἔστι βροτοῖσιν,
οὐδ' ὁδὸς ἦν τις² ἰὼν ἀθανάτοισιν ἄδοι. 382
ἔμπης δ' ὄλβον ἔχουσιν ἀπήμονα· τοὶ δ' ἀπὸ
δειλῶν

ἔργων ἴσχοντες θυμὸν ὁμῶς πενίην
μητέρ' ἀμηχανίης ἔλαβον, τὰ δίκαια φιλεῦντες,
ἦτ' ἀνδρὸς³ παράγει θυμὸν ἐς ἀμπλακίην,
βλάπτουσ' ἐν στήθεσσι φρένας κρατερῆς ὑπ
ἀνάγκης· 387

τολμᾷ δ' οὐκ ἐθέλων αἴσχρα πολλὰ φέρειν,
χρημοσύνη εἴκων, ἥ δὴ κακὰ πάντα⁴ διδάσκει,
ψεύδεά τ' ἐξαπάτας τ' οὐλομένας τ' ἔριδας
ἄνδρα καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα, κακὸν δέ οἱ οὐδὲν
ἔοικεν·

ἡ γὰρ καὶ χαλεπὴν τίκτει ἀμηχανίην.

¹ Neander mss τερφθῇ
others ὁδὸς ἦν τιν' (one τις)

² some mss (A) ὁδὸν ἦν τιν',
³ B (866, where there is a

THEOGNIS

373-392†

Dear Zeus! I marvel at Thee Thou art lord of all, alone having honour and great power; well knowest Thou the heart and mind of every man alive; and Thy might, O King, is above all things. How then is it, Son of Cronus, that Thy mind can bear to hold the wicked and the righteous¹ in the same esteem, whether a man's mind be turned to temperateness, or, unrighteous works persuading, to wanton outrage? Nor is aught fixed for us men by Fortune, nor the way a man must go to please the Immortals. Yet the wicked² enjoy untroubled prosperity, whereas such as keep their hearts from base deeds, nevertheless, for all they may love what is righteous, receive Penury the mother of perplexity, Penury that misleadeth a man's heart to evil-doing, corrupting his wits³ by strong necessity, till perforce he endureth much shame and yieldeth to Want who teacheth all evil, both lies and deceits and baleful contentions, even to him that will not and to whom no ill is fitting⁴, for hard is the perplexity that cometh of her.⁵

¹ the Greek gives the wicked as plural and the righteous (himself?) as singular ² the Greek is they ³ lit the wits in their breasts ⁴ for the construction of the use of a demonstrative instead of a second relative ⁵ the poem has prob suffered loss (after 382?) or interpolation (after 380?), and there is certainly some confusion in 383-92 ('yieldeth to Want' comes from Tyrt. 10 8, and 390-2 alone show 'epic corruption')

relative, is not parallel): mss -δρῶν
(from above)

⁴ B: mss πολλά

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

393-398

Ἐν πενίῃ δ' ὃ τε δειλὸς ἀνὴρ ὃ τε πολλὸν
 ἀμείνων
 φαίνεται, εὔτ' ἂν δὴ χρημοσύνη κατέχῃ
 τοῦ μὲν γὰρ τὰ δίκαια φρονεῖ νόος οὔτε περ
 αἰεὶ 395
 ἰθεῖα γνώμη στήθεσιν ἐμπεφύη.¹
 τοῦ δ' αὖτ' οὔτε κακοῖς ἔπεται νόος οὔτ' ἀγα-
 θοῖσιν,
 τὸν δ' ἀγαθὸν τολμᾶν χρὴ τά τε καὶ τὰ φέρειν.

399-400

Αἰδεῖσθαι δὲ φίλους φεύγειν τ' ὀλεσθήνορας
 ὄρκους
 ἐντρέπεν,² ἀθανάτων μῆνιν ἀλευόμενος.

401-406

Μηδὲν ἄγαν σπεύδειν· καιρὸς δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν
 ἄριστος
 ἔργασιν ἀνθρώπων· πολλάκι δ' εἰς ἀρετὴν
 σπεύδει ἀνὴρ κέρδος διζήμενος, ὅντινα δαίμων
 πρόφρων εἰς μεγάλην ἀμπλακίην παράγει, 404
 καὶ οἱ ἔθηκε δοκεῖν, ἃ μὲν ἦ κακά, ταῦτ' ἀγάθ'
 εἶναι
 εὐμαρέως, ἃ δ' ἂν ἦ χρήσιμα, ταῦτα κακά.

407-408

Φίλτατος ὢν ἡμαρτες· ἐγὼ δέ σοι αἴτιος οὐδέν,
 ἀλλ' αὐτὸς γνώμης οὐκ ἀγαθῆς ἔτυχες.

¹ A -φυίη(opt ? cf. 276 n and Theocr 15 94) ² Brunck-B:
 A ἐντραπελ' and ἀλευόμενον, others ἐντρεπε δ' and -vos

THEOGNIS

393-398

In Penury both the man of the baser sort and he that is much better are shown for what they are when Want restraineth. For the mind of him in whose breast ever springeth straight judgment thinketh righteous thoughts; the other's mind accepteth neither good hap nor ill, whereas your good man should bear a diverse lot with hardihood.

399-400

Give heed that thou honour and respect thy friends and shun oaths that destroy men,¹ avoiding the wrath of the Immortals.

401-406

Be not over-eager in any matter; due measure 's best in all human works; and often a man is eager of virtue ² in his pursuit of gain, only to be misled into great wrong-doing by a favouring Spirit,³ which so easily maketh what is evil seem to him good, and what is good seem evil.

407-408

Thou'rt wrong to be so dear to me; yet 'tis not my fault, 'tis rather that thou thyself hast misjudged.

¹ *or, as a general epithet, man-destroying oaths* ² *see*
p. 233 n. 4 ³ *the idea is something like our 'good luck'*

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

409-410

Οὐδένα θησαυρὸν παισὶν κατανήσει¹ ἀμείνω
αἰδοῦς, ἥτ' ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι, Κύρν', ἔπεται.

411-412

Οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων κακίων δοκεῖ εἶναι ἑταῖρος
ὧ γνῶμη θ' ἔπεται, Κύρνε, καὶ ᾧ δύνಾಮις.

413-414

Πίνων δ' οὐχ οὕτως θωρήξομαι, οὐδέ με οἶνος²
ἐξαρεῖ,³ ὥστ' εἰπεῖν δεινὸν ἔπος περὶ σοῦ.

415-418

Οὐδέν' ὁμοῖον ἐμοὶ δύνamai διζήμενος εὐρεῖν
πιστὸν ἑταῖρον, ὅτῳ μήτις ἔνεστι δόλος·
ἐς βάσανον δ' ἐλθὼν παρατριβόμενός τε⁴ μο-
λίβδῳ
χρυσὸς ὑπερτερῆς ἄμμιν ἔνεστι τύπος.⁵

419-420

Πολλά με καὶ συνιέντα παρέρχεται· ἀλλ' ὑπ'
ἀνάγκης
σιγῶ γινώσκων ἡμετέρην δύναιμι.

¹ E, cf. Hdt. 6 97: mss -θήσει, -θήση ² A μετ' οἶνος,
others μέ γ' (or με), i e *Foīnos*? cf 548 n ³ Emp. mss -άγει
⁴ so 1164 E (and σῆτιν' above) mss here -βομαι ὥστε ⁵ E
mss λόγος, νόος (emendations of *πος* after loss of *τυ* by
hapl ?)

THEOGNIS

409-410

No better treasure shalt thou lay by for thy children, Cynrus, than the respect which followeth¹ good men²

411-412

Better comrade than all besides, Cynrus, seemeth he that is endowed with judgment or with power.

413-414

Yet not so far shall I go in my cups, nor shall wine so far carry me away, as that I shall complain of thee.

415-418

Seek as I will, I can find no man like myself that is a true comrade free of guile³; yet when I am put to the test and tried even as gold is tried beside lead⁴ the mark of pre-eminence is upon me.⁵

419-420

Many things pass by me that I nevertheless perceive; I am silent of necessity, knowing my own power.

¹ *or falls to the lot of* ² [cf 1161] ³ *or no man that is a true comrade free of guile like myself* ⁴ *i. e. beside so-called gold which is mostly lead* ⁵ *reading doubtful; the construction is irregular but possible [repeated after 1164 D, cf. also 1105-6]*

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

421-424

Πολλοῖς ἀνθρώπων γλώσση θύραι οὐκ ἐπείκεινται
ἀρμόδιαι,¹ καὶ σφιν πόλλ' ἀλάλητα μέλει.²
πολλάκι γὰρ τὸ κακὸν κατακείμενον ἔνδον ἄμεινον,³
ἔστε δ' ἂν ἐξέλθῃ λώιον ἢ τὸ καλόν.⁴

425-428

Πάντων⁵ μὲν μὴ φύναι ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἄριστον
μηδ' ἐσιδεῖν⁶ αὐγὰς ὀξέος ἡελίου·
φύντα δ' ὅπως ὥκιστα πύλας Ἀΐδαο περῆσαι
καὶ κεῖσθαι πολλὴν γῆν ἐπαμνησάμενον.⁷

429-438†?

Φῦσαι καὶ θρέψαι ῥᾶον βροτὸν ἢ φρένας ἐσθλὰς
ἐνθέμεν· οὐδεὶς πω τοῦτό γ' ἐπεφράσατο,
ὅστις⁸ σῶφρον' ἔθηκε τὸν ἄφρονα κακὸν κακοῦ
ἐσθλόν. 431
εἰ δ' ἄ⁹ Ἀσκληπιάδαις τοῦτο γ' ἔδωκε θεός,
ἰᾶσθαι κακότητα καὶ ἀτηρὰς¹⁰ φρένας ἀνδρῶν,
πολλοὺς ἂν μισθοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἔφερον·
εἰ δ' ἦν ποιητόν τε καὶ ἐνθετον ἀνδρὶ νόημα,
οὔποτ' ἂν ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ πατρὸς ἐγεντο κακός, 436
πειθόμενος μύθοισι σαόφροσιν. ἀλλὰ διδάσκων
οὔποτε ποιήσεις τὸν κακὸν ἀνδρ' ἀγαθόν.

¹ Stob θύρα οὐκ ἐπείκειται ἀρμόδιῃ πέλει, mss of T. ἀμέλητα μέλει ² Geel Stob. ἀλάλητα
³ Stob ἐνδοθεν ἦλθον ⁴ E mss ἐσθλὸν δ' ἐξελθὼν (or -θὼν, Stob -θεῖν) λώϊον ἢ τὸ κακόν
⁵ most citations ἀρχὴν ⁶ Macai. ἐπιδ, Clem, Theod
ἐσορᾶν ⁷ Sext γαῖαν ἐφεισάμενον ⁸ ᾧ τις ⁹ B· A ὅστις
Sitz ᾧ τε σαόφρ ¹⁰ one ms and all cit οὐδ' ¹¹ A ἀτειρὰς

¹ cf Stob Fl 36 1 (421-4) ² the Middle suggests 'get
earth heaped up for oneself'; or (with Williams, comparing
280

THEOGNIS

421-424

The doors of many a man's lips do not meet, and many men are concerned with much that should not be spoken; for often that which is evil is better within, and that which is good was better before it came out.¹

425-428

The best lot of all for man is never to have been born nor seen the beams of the burning Sun; this failing, to pass the gates of Hades as soon as one may, and lie under a goodly heap of earth.²

429-438†

To beget and breed a man is easier than to put into him good wits; none hath ever devised means whereby he hath made a fool wise and a bad man good.³ If God had given the Children of Asclepius the art of healing a man's evil nature and infatuate wit, they would receive wages much and great; and if thought could be made and put into us, the son of a good father would never become bad, because he would be persuaded by good counsel. But by teaching never shalt thou make the bad man good.⁴

Od 5 482) make a grave for oneself, though in *Ap Rh* 1 1305 the sense is active, cf. *Sext Emp Hypot* 3 175, *Stob. Fl.* 120 4, *Clem Al. Str.* 3. 15 1, *Theodoret* 5 71 15, *Sch Soph O C* 1225, *Suid* ἀρχὴν μὲν, *Diogen.* 3 4, *Macar* 2 45, *Apost.* 3 85, *Plut Cons Ux* 10, *Crantor* and *Arist ap Plut. Cons Ap* 27 (425 ff.); *Stob Fl* 120 3 (ἐκ τοῦ Ἀλκιδάμαντος Μουσείου), *Cert Hom* 240 Rz. (425, 427) ³ or whereby a man hath made a fool wise, etc ⁴ cf. *Clearch ap. Ath* 6 256 c, *Plut Q Plat* 1 3, *Dio Chrys* 1 2 (432), *Arist Eth. Nic.* 1179 b 4 (434), *Plat Men* 95 c (434-8)

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

439-440

Νήπιος, ὃς τὸν ἐμὸν μὲν ἔχει νόον ἐν φυλακῇσιν,
τῶν δ' αὐτοῦ ἰδίῳ¹ οὐδέν ἐπιστρέφεται.

441-446

Οὐδεὶς γὰρ πάντ' ἐστὶ πανόλβιος· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν
ἐσθλὸς

τολμᾷ ἔχων τὸ κακὸν κοῦκ ἐπίδηλος² ὅμως·
δειλὸς δ' οὔτ' ἀγαθοῖς τις³ ἐπίσταται οὔτε
κακοῖσιν 443

θυμὸν ἔχων μίμνειν.⁴ ἀθανάτων δὲ δόσεις
παντοῖαι θνητοῖσιν ἐπέρχοντ'.⁵ ἀλλ' ἐπιτολμᾶν
χρῆ δῶρ' ἀθανάτων οἷα διδοῦσιν ἔχειν.

447-452

Εἴ μ' ἐθέλεις πλύνειν, κεφαλῆς ἀμείαντον ἀπ' ἄκρης
αἰεὶ λευκὸν ὕδωρ ρεύσεται ἡμετέρης 448
εὐρήσεις δέ με πᾶσιν ἐπ' ἔργμασιν ὥσπερ ἄπεφθον
χρυσόν, ἐρυθρὸν ἰδεῖν τριβόμενον βασάνῳ,
τοῦ χροῖης καθύπερθε μέλας οὐχ ἄπτεται ἰὸς
οὐδ' εὐρώς, αἰεὶ δ' ἄνθος ἔχει καθαρόν.

453-456†²

Ὡς θρωπ', εἰ γνώμης ἔλαχες μέρος ὥσπερ ἀνοίης
καὶ σῶφρων οὕτως ὥσπερ ἄφρων ἐγένου,
πολλοῖς ἂν ζηλωτὸς ἐφαίνεο τῶνδε πολιτῶν
οὕτως ὥσπερ νῦν οὐδενὸς ἄξιος εἶ.

¹ Jac A τῶν and κιδιον (κ from F, as καταφεῖπ' or καταφεῖπ' became κατακεισ' in 516⁹ cf 548), others τὸν and κιδιον or ἴδιον ² 1162D -λον ³ E mss -θοῖσιν ⁴ or read ὁμῶς μίσγειν (1162D) ? ⁵ 1162E one ms -χεται perh rightly, read δόσεις παντοῖα ? (so Cronert, but -τοίη)

THEOGNIS

439-440

Foolish the man that hath my mind in keeping yet
payeth no regard to his own things.

441-446

Nobody is all-happy in all things; rather doth the
good endure to have evil albeit men know it not,
whereas the bad man knoweth not how to abide and
restrain his heart either in ¹ good hap or in bad; of
all sorts are the gifts that come of the Gods to man,
yet must we endure to keep the gifts they send, of
whatsoever sort they be.²

447-452

If thou wilt fain wash me, the water will ever flow
unsullied from my head; thou wilt find me in all
matters as it were refined gold, red to the view when I
be rubbed with the touchstone; the surface of me is
untainted of black mould or rust, its bloom ever pure
and clean.³

453-456†?

If thou hadst thy portion of judgment, man, as of
folly, and wert as wise as thou art witless, thou
wouldst seem to many of these thy fellow-townsmen
as much to be envied as now thou art to be
despised.

¹ or (as 1162 D) how to mingle his heart either with
peated after 1162] ² [re-
³ i.e. if you upbraid me or accuse me
you will find me innocent of unfaithfulness

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

457—460†²

Οὔτοι σύμφορόν¹ ἐστὶ γυνὴ νέα ἀνδρὶ γέροντι.²
οὐ γὰρ πηδαλίῳ πείθεται ὥς ἄκατος,
οὐδ' ἄγκυραι ἔχουσιν, ἀπορρήξασα δὲ δεσμὰ
πολλάκις ἐκ νυκτῶν ἄλλον ἔχει λιμένα.

461—462

Μήποτ' ἐπ' ἀπρήκτοισι νόον ἔχε,³ μηδὲ μενοίνα
χρήματα⁴ τῶν ἄνυσσις γίνεται οὐδεμία.

463—464

Εὐμαρέως τοι χρήμα θεοὶ δόσαν οὔτε τι δειλὸν
οὔτ' ἀγαθόν· χαλεπῶ δ' ἔργματι κῦδος ἔπι.

465—466

Ἀμφ' ἀρετῇ τρίβου καὶ τοι τὰ δίκαια φίλ' ἔστω,
μηδέ σε νικάτω κέρδος ὅτ' αἰσχροὺς ἔη.

467—496

Μηδένα τῶνδ' ἀέκοντα μένειν κατέρυκε παρ' ἡμῖν,
μηδὲ θύραζε κέλευ' οὐκ ἐθέλοντ' ἵεναι,
μηδ' ⁵ εὐδοντ' ἐπέγειρε, Σιμωνίδη, ὅντιν' ἂν ἡμῶν
θωρηχθέντ' οἴνῳ μαλθακὸς ὕπνος ἔλῃ, 470
μηδὲ τὸν ἀγρυπνέοντα κέλευ' ἀέκοντα καθεύδειν·
πᾶν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον χρήμ' ἀνιηρόν ἔφν.

¹ most mss σύμφρον (σύμφρονον) ἔνεστι, Eust σύμφροός ἐστι
² Eust, Ath. γεραῖῳ ³ τρέπε? B sugg σχῆς ⁴ sugg.
B. mss -μασι ⁵ Pherecr. μήτ'

THEOGNIS

457-460†?

A young wife is not proper to an old husband; she is a boat that answereth not the helm, nor do her anchors hold, but she slippeth her moorings often overnight to make another haven¹

461-462

Never give thou thy mind to the impracticable, nor desire things whereof there cometh no accomplishment.

463-464

'Tis certain the Gods bestow neither a good thing nor a bad thing easily; fame belongeth to a deed that is hard.²

465-466

Busy thyself with virtue and set thy affection upon what is right, nor let thyself be overcome by gain that is dishonourable.

467-496

Stay none of our company, Simonides, that is unwilling to abide with us, nor bid to the door any that would not go, nay, nor wake thou any that gentle Sleep hath o'ertaken in his cups, nor yet bid the waking slumber if he would not; for all that is forced

¹ cf. Ath. 13 560 a, Stob *Fl* 71 2, Apost 13. 39. s, Eust. 1345. 56 (457-60); Clem. Al *Str.* 6. 14. 5 (457-8) ² the Greek is prob corrupt; *easily* should in syntax belong to the giver and not to the recipient, neither Hecker's ἐπίδηλον 'conspicuous' nor Bergk's καλόν removes this difficulty: cf. Apost. 6. 70. 1 (447-8), Apost. 8. 7 d (449-50)

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

τῷ πίνειν δ' ἐθέλοντι παρασταδὸν οἶνοχοεῖτω.
 οὐ πάσας νύκτας γίνεται ἄβρὰ παθεῖν.
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ, μέτρον γὰρ ἔχω μελιηδέος οἶνου,
 ὕπνου λυσικάκου μνήσομαι οἴκαδ' ἰών, 476
 ἥξω δ' ὥς οἶνος χαριέστατος ἀνδρὶ πεπόσθαι
 οὔτε τι νήφων εἰμ' οὔτε λήην μεθύων.¹
 ὃς δ' ἂν ὑπερβάλλῃ πόσιος μέτρον, οὐκέτι κείνος
 τῆς αὐτοῦ γλώσσης καρτερὸς οὐδὲ νόου, 480
 μυθεῖται δ' ἀπάλαμνα τὰ νήφοσι γίνεται αἰσχρά,
 αἰδεῖται θ' ² ἔρδων οὐδέν, ὅταν μεθύῃ,
 τὸ πρὶν ἐὼν σώφρων, τότε νήπιος. ἀλλὰ σὺ
 ταῦτα
 γινώσκων μὴ πῖν' οἶνον ὑπερβολάδην,
 ἀλλ' ἢ πρὶν μεθύειν ὑπανίστασο,³ μὴδὲ βιάσθω
 γαστήρ σ' ⁴ ὥστε κακὸν λάτριν ἐφημέριον, 486
 ἢ παρεὼν μὴ πῖνε. σὺ δ' Ἐγχεε τοῦτο μάταιον
 κωτίλλεις αἰεὶ· τοῦνεκά τοι μεθύεις.
 ἦ μὲν γὰρ φέρεται φιλοτήσιος, ἦ δὲ πρόκειται,
 τὴν δὲ θεοῖς σπένδεις, τὴν δ' ἐπὶ χειρὸς ἔχεις·
 ἀρνεῖσθαι ⁵ δ' οὐκ οἶδας. ἀνίκητος δέ τοι οὔτος,
 ὃς πολλὰς ⁶ πίνων μὴ τι μάταιον ἐρεῖ. 492
 ὑμεῖς δ' εὖ μυθεῖσθε παρὰ κρητῆρι μένοντες,
 ἀλλήλων ἔριδος δὴν ἀπερυκόμενοι,
 ἐς τὸ μέσον φωνεῦντες ὁμῶς ἐνὶ καὶ συνάπασι·
 χούτως συμπόσιον γίνεται οὐκ ἄχαρι.

¹ So Ath. (but ἥκω and εἰμ'). mss of T. ἥξω (or δείξω) and γὰρ νήφω οὔτε λήην μεθύω

² Ath: mss of T. δ' ³ Ath πρὶν μεθύειν ἄρξῃ δ' ἀπανίστ (μὴδέ) σε (Stob. μὴ δέ, μὴ σε) β γαστήρ

⁴ Herm: mss μὴ ⁵ A αἰν.

⁶ A -λδν

THEOGNIS

is painful.¹ Him that would drink, let the lad stand by and pour him a cupful. Good cheer cometh not every night. But as for me, I keep to my measure of honey-sweet Wine, and so I shall go home ere I bethink me of care-easing Sleep²; I shall have reached the top of wine's pleasure,³ seeing that I shall go neither sober nor over-drunken; whereas he that overpasseth the due measure of drinking is no longer master either of his tongue or his mind, but telleth reckless things disgraceful to sober ears, and hath no shame in what he doeth in his cups, a wise man once, but now a fool. Knowing this, drink not thou to excess, but either arise thou and go out privily before thou be drunken—let not thy belly constrain thee as if thou wert a bad day-labourer—or else abide and drink not. But nay, this vain *Pour me a cup* is thy continual chatter; therefore thou art drunken. For there's one cup cometh for friendship, another for a wager, another for libation, and another's kept in hand; and thou knowest not how to say no. He surely is invincible⁴ who shall say no vain thing when he hath drunken deep. But speak ye wisely albeit ye abide beside the bowl, withholding yourselves far⁵ from mutual strife, and speaking, whether ye address one or all, that any may hear; in this wise is a carousal a right pleasant thing.⁶

¹ = EUENUS 8, to whom the whole poem prob. belongs
² for the present participle in the sense of the aorist with a future verb cf 492 and e.g. *Ar. Pac.* 49, *Lys.* 610 ³ *lit.* I shall have come (to that stage of wine) when it is pleasantest to a man to have drunk it, or rather when it (the wine) is pleasantest to a man to have been drunk ⁴ i.e. the true victor in the drinking-bout ⁵ cf. Sch. Nic. *Al.* 396 ⁶ cf. Pherecr. ap. *Ath.* 8 364 c (467-9), *Plut. Non Posse* 21 (κατὰ τ. Εὐήρον), *Plat. Phaedr.* 240 c (472), *Ath.* 10. 428 d (477-87), *Stob. Fl.* 18. 14 (479-86)

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

· 497—498

* Ἀφρονος ἀνδρὸς ὁμῶς¹ καὶ σῶφρονος οἶνος,
ὅταν δὴ
πίνῃ ὑπὲρ μέτρον, κοῦφον ἔθηκε νόον.

499—502†²

Ἐν πυρὶ μὲν χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον ἱδρῖες ἄνδρες
γινώσκουσ', ἀνδρὸς δ' οἶνος ἔδειξε νόον,
καὶ μάλα περ πινυτοῦ, τὸν ὑπὲρ μέτρον ἥρατο
πίνων,²
ὥστε καταισχύναι καὶ πρὶν³ ἐόντα σοφόν.

503—508

Οἶνοβαρέω κεφαλὴν, Ὀνομάκριτε, καί με βιάται
οἶνος ἀτὰρ γνώμης⁴ οὐκέτ' ἐγὼ ταμῆς
ἡμετέρης, τὸ δὲ δῶμα περιτρέχει. ἀλλ' ἄγ'
ἀναστὰς 505
πειρηθῶ μή πως καὶ πόδας οἶνος ἔχει
καὶ νόον ἐν στήθεσσι. δέδοικα δὲ μή τι μάταιον
ἔρξω θωρηχθεὶς καὶ μέγ' ὄνειδος ἔχω.

509—510

Οἶνος πινόμενος πουλὺς κακόν⁵ ἦν δέ τις αὐτὸν
πίνῃ⁶ ἐπισταμένως, οὐ κακὸν ἀλλ' ἀγαθόν.⁷

¹ Stob. ἄγαν ² Stob. κακότητα δὲ πᾶσαν ἐλέγχει ³ Stob.
τὸν ⁴ B γλώσσης ⁵ some cit κακός ⁶ Clem αὐτῷ
χρήται ⁷ some cit. nom

THEOGNIS

497-498

Wine maketh light the mind of wise and foolish alike, when they drink beyond their measure.¹

499-502†²

Cunning men know gold and silver in the fire; and the mind of a man, e'en though he be very knowing, is shown by wine which he taketh, at a carousal, beyond his measure, so that it putteth to shame even one that was wise before.¹

503-508

My head is heavy with drink, Onomacritus, and wine constraineth me; I am no longer the dispenser of my own judgment, and the room runneth round. Come, let me rise and try if haply wine possess my feet as well as my wits.² I fear I may do some vain thing in my cups and have great reproach to bear.¹

509-510

The drinking of much wine is an ill; but if one drink it with knowledge, it is not an ill but a good.³

¹ cf Stob. *Fl* 18 15 (497-508), Apost 7 16 m (499-503), Ath 2 37 e (500), Stob *Fl* 18. 17, Apost 7 16 (503-8)

² or hath both feet and wits ³ cf Gal 1 345, Stob. *Fl*. 18. 12, Clem Al. *Str.* 6. 11. 5, Artem. *On.* 1. 66, Arist *Prob* 1. 17 (509-10)

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

511-522†

**Ἦλθες δῆ, Κλεάριστε, βαθὺν διὰ πόντον ἀνύσας,
 ἐνθάδ' ἐπ' οὐδὲν ἔχοντ', ὦ τάλαν, οὐδὲν ἔχων.
 νηὸς τοι πλευρῇσιν ὑπὸ ζυγὰ θήσομεν ἡμεῖς,
 Κλεάρισθ', οἷ' ἔχομεν χοῖα διδοῦσι θεοί·* 514
οὔτε τι τῶν ὄντων ἀποθήσομαι, οὔτε τι μείζον 517
σῆς ἔνεκα ξενίης ἄλλοθεν οἰσόμεθα,¹ 518
τῶν δ' ὄντων τᾶριστα παρέξομεν. ἦν δέ τις
ἔλθῃ 515
σεῦ φίλος ὢν, κατάειφ' ² ὥς φιλότητος ἔχεις
ἦν δέ τις εἰρωτᾷ τὸν ἐμὸν βίον, ὧδέ οἱ εἰπεῖν· 519
ὥς εὖ μὲν χαλεπῶς, ὥς χαλεπῶς δὲ μάλ' εὖ,
ὥσθ' ἓνα μὲν ξεῖνον πατρώιον οὐκ ἀπολείπειν,
ξεῖνια δὲ πλεόνεσσ' ³ οὐ δυνατὸς παρέχειν.

523-524

Οὐ σε μάτην, ὦ Πλοῦτε, βροτοὶ ⁴ τιμῶσι μάλιστα·
 ἦ γὰρ ῥηϊδίως τὴν κακότητα φέρεις.

525-526

Καὶ γάρ τοι πλοῦτον μὲν ἔχειν ἀγαθοῖσιν ἔοικεν,
 ἦ πενίη δὲ κακῷ σύμφορος ⁵ ἀνδρὶ φέρειν.

527-528

*Ὡ μοι ἐγὼν ἥβης καὶ γήραος οὐλομένοιο,
 τοῦ μὲν ἐπερχομένου, τῆς δ' ἀπονισομένης.

529-530

Οὐδένα <πω> ⁶ προὔδωκα φίλον καὶ πιστὸν
 ἑταῖρον,
 οὐδ' ἐν ἐμῇ ψυχῇ δούλιον οὐδὲν ἔνι.

¹ trs. Herw ² Sitz. mss κατάκεισ' ³ B mss πλέον
 ἔστ' ⁴ Stob θεοί, θεῶν ⁵ Stob σοφῷ σύμφορον ⁶ B

THEOGNIS

511-522†

Thou hast accomplished, Clearstus, thy journey
o'er the deep, and come, my poor friend, penniless
hither unto one that is without a penny. We will put
'neath the sides of thy beached ship, Clearistus, such
props as we have and the Gods do give; I will
neither withhold aught that is in the house, nor fetch
from without any finer fare for the sake of thy
friendship; we will furnish thee with the best of
what we have. And if any friend of thine come,
tell him plain what great friends we are; and if it
be asked thee of my living, say that for a good living
'tis bad and for a bad good, so that, whereas I need
not fail one friend of my father's, I cannot enter-
tain more.

523-524

With good reason, O Wealth, doth man honour
thee above all, for how easily dost thou tolerate
badness!¹

525-526

'Tis sure that it becometh the good to have riches,
and 'tis proper to a bad man to suffer penury.²

527-528

Alas for Youth and alas for baleful Age! the one
that it goeth and the other that it cometh.³

529-530

Never have I betrayed a dear and loyal comrade,
nor is there aught of the slavish in my soul.

¹ i.e. 'badness' is made tolerable by wealth: cf Stob *Fl.* 91. 1, Maxim. Conf. 2. 572 (523-4) ² cf. Stob. *Fl.* 91. 2 (adding 699-702) (525-6) ³ cf Stob *Fl.* 116. 11, *Anth.* *Plan.* 10, *Pal.* 9. 118 (Βῆσσαντίου), *Iriarte* 106

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

531-532

Αἰεὶ μοι φίλον ἦτορ ἰαίνεται, ὅππότε' ἀκούσω
αὐλῶν φθεγγομένων ἱμερόεσσαν ὄπα.

533-534

Χαίρω δ' ἐμπίνων¹ καὶ ὑπ' αὐλητῆρος αἰείδων,²
χαίρω δ' εὐφθογγον χερσὶ λύρην ὀχέων.

535-538

Οὔποτε δουλείη κεφαλὴν³ ἰθεῖα πέφυκεν,
ἀλλ' αἰεὶ σκολιή, καὶ ὕχένα λοξὸν ἔχει.
οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ σκίλλης⁴ ῥόδα φύεται οὔδ' ὑάκινθος,
οὔτε ποτ' ἐκ δούλης τέκνον ἐλευθέριον.

539-540

Οὗτος ἀνὴρ, φίλε Κύρνε, πέδας χαλκεύεται αὐτῷ,
εἰ μὴ ἐμὴν γνώμην ἐξαπατῶσι θεοί.

541-542

Δειμαίνω μὴ τήνδε πόλιν, Πολυπαῖδην, ὕβρις,
ἥπερ Κενταύρους ὤμοφάγους, ὀλέσῃ.⁵

543-546

Χρὴ με παρὰ στάθμην καὶ γνώμονα τήνδε δι-
κάσσαι,
Κύρνε, δίκην, ἰσὸν τ' ἀμφοτέροισι δόμεν,⁶

μάντεσσι τ' οἰωνοῖς τε καὶ αἰθομένοις ἱεροῖσιν,
ὄφρα μὴ ἀμπλακίης αἰσχροῦν ὄνειδος ἔχω.

¹ B (in *Od* 18 408 the tense makes all the difference) mss
εὖ πίνων ² Piers: mss ἀκούων (altered by someone who

thought αἰείδων would involve singing with one's mouth full ?

THEOGNIS

531-532

My heart is ever warmed within me when I hear
the delightful voice of the babbling flute.

533-534

I rejoice to drink deep and sing to the pipes, I
rejoice to have in hand the tuneful lyre.

535-538

Never is slavery straight of head, but ever crooked
and keepeth her neck askew; for the child of a bond-
woman is never free in spirit, any more than a rose or
hyacinth groweth upon a squill.¹

539-540

This man,² dear Cynus, forgeth himself fetters, if
the Gods beguile not my judgment.

541-542

I fear me, son of Polypaus, lest this city be
destroyed by pride like the Centaurs that devoured
raw flesh.

543-546

I must decide this suit by ruddle and square, Cynus,
and be fair to both parties, [on the one side . . .] and
on the other prophets and omens and burnt-offerings,
or else I shall bear the foul reproach of wrong-doing.

¹ cf. Stob. *Fl* 62. 36, Philo 6. 43 Cohn (535); Apost. 13. 76 (537) ² cf. Alcaeus 50, 56 (*L.G.* 1)

or from ἀκούσω above, cf. 632²)

⁴ Cam. mss οὐδέ κτλ

⁵ A ὕλεσεν

³ Platt. mss -λη

⁶ a couplet lost

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

547-548

Μηδένα πη¹ κακότητι βιάζεο· τῷ δὲ δικαίῳ
τῆς εὐεργεσίας² οὐδὲν ἀρειότερον.

549-554

Ἄγγελος ἄφθογγος πόλεμον πολύδακρυν ἐγείρει,
Κύρυν, ἀπὸ τηλαυγέος φαινόμενος σκοπιῆς.
ἀλλ' ἵπποις ἔμβαλλε ταχυπτέρνοισι χαλινούς·
δήων γάρ σφ' ἀνδρῶν ἀντιάσειν δοκέω. 552
οὐ πολλὴν³ τὸ μεσηγὺ διαπρήξουσιν κέλευθον,
εἰ μὴ ἐμὴν γνώμην ἐξαπατῶσι θεοί.

555-556

Χρὴ τολμᾶν χαλεποῖσιν ἐν ἄλγεσι κείμενον ἄνδρα,
πρὸς τε θεῶν αἰτεῖν ἔκλυσιν ἀθανάτων⁴

557-560

Φράζεο· κίνδυνός τοι ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἴσταται ἀκμῆς
ἄλλοτε πόλλ' ἔξεις, ἄλλοτε⁵ πανρότερα,
ὥστε σε μήτε λῖν ἀφνεὸν κτεάτεσσι γενέσθαι
χρὴ μήτ'⁶ ἐς πολλὴν χρημοσύνην ἐλάσαι.

561-562

Εἵη μοι τὰ μὲν αὐτὸν ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ πόλλ' ἐπιδοῦναι
χρήματα τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοῖσι φίλοισιν ἔχειν.

¹ E: mss πω (which cannot refer to the future) B παῖ

² A εὐεργεσίας as 574, perh from εὐεργ (cf. 413 n)

³ Brunck· mss -λὸν

⁴ 1178 A τολμᾶν χρὴ (cf. 591) and ἐν ἄλγεσιν ἦτορ ἔχοντα

⁵ ἄλλοθι . ἄλλοθι?

⁶ E: mss μήτε σέ γ'

THEOGNIS

547-548

Force no man ever by badness, to the righteous
there 's nothing better than the doing of good.

549-554

The voiceless messenger¹ shineth from the fa-
seen watching-place and rouseth lamentable War,
Cyrnus. Bridle the swift-foot horses; methinks they
will meet a foe; not far will they go ere they reach
him, if the Gods beguile not my judgment.²

555-556

He that lieth in sore trouble must be patient and
ask deliverance of the Immortal Gods³

557-560

Beware; the chances, for sure, are balanced very
fine⁴, one day thou shalt have much and another
little⁵, it behoveth thee, then, neither to become
too rich nor to ride into great want.

561-562

Be it mine to possess some of my enemies' goods
myself and to give thereof much also to my friends to
possess.

¹ *i.e.* a beacon ² the first sentence is reminiscent
of the Riddle; the whole poem may well be an allegory
³ [= 1178 a-b] ⁴ *lit* jeopardy stands upon a razor's edge,
the metaphor is from an even balance, Powell takes κίνδυνος
as the spirit of adventure, see 637 n ⁵ *or, emending the*
Greek, on one side much and on the other little

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

563-566

Κεκλήσθαι τ' ἐς δαῖτα παρέξεσθαί τε¹ παρ'
 ἐσθλὸν
 ἄνδρα χρεὼν σοφίην πᾶσαν ἐπιστάμενον·
 τοῦ συνιεῖν <θ>² ὁπόταν τι λέγῃ σοφόν, ὅφρα
 διδαχθῆς
 καὶ τοῦτ' εἰς οἶκον κέρδος ἔχων ἀπίης.

567-570

Ἦβη τερπόμενος παίζω· δηρὸν γὰρ ἔνερθεν
 γῆς ὀλέσας ψυχὴν κείσομαι ὥστε λίθος
 ἄφθογγος, λείψω δ' ἐρατὸν φάος ἡέλιοιο,
 ἔμπησ δ' ἐσθλὸς ἰὼν ἄψομαι οὐδὲν ἔτι.

571-572

Δόξα μὲν ἀνθρώποισι κακὸν μέγα, πείρα δ'
 ἄριστον·
 πολλοὶ ἀπειρήτοι δόξαν ἔχουσ' ἀγαθῶν.

573-574

Εὖ ἔρδων εὖ πάσχε· τί κ' ἄγγελον ἄλλον ἱαλλοῖς;
 τῆς εὐεργεσίης ῥῆδὴ ἀγγελίῃ.³

575-576

Οἷ με φίλοι προδιδοῦσιν, ἐπεὶ τόν γ' ἐχθρὸν
 ἀλεῦμαι
 ὥστε κυβερνήτης χοιράδας εἰναλίας.

¹ mss δ' . δὲ ² E ³ A εὐεργεσίης ῥηιδίαγγελίῃ,
 cf. 548 n

THEOGNIS

563-566

'Tis well to be guest at a feast and sit beside a good man¹ that knoweth all learning; him thou shouldst mark when he saith any wit, so that thou mayst learn and go home with so much gained.

567-570

I play rejoicing in Youth; for long 's the time I shall lie underground without life like a dumb stone and leave the pleasant light of the Sun, and for all I be a good man, shall see nothing any more.

571-572

Repute is a great ill, trial is best; many have repute for good, that have never been tried.²

573-574

Be well done by because thou doest good; why send another to tell thy tale? tidings of well-doing spread easily.³

575-576

My friends it is that betray me; for mine enemy can I shun as the steersman the rock upstanding from the sea.

¹ or to be the guest of, and to sit beside (in a public lounge), a good man ² [= 1104 A-B] ³ i.e. there is no need to tell of a good deed in order to get it requited

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

577–578

Ῥήιον¹ ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ θείναι κακὸν ἢ κ' κακοῦ ἐσθλόν.
μή με δίδασκ'· οὗτοι τηλίκος εἰμὶ μαθεῖν.

579–584

< A > Ἐχθαίρω κακὸν ἄνδρα, καλυψαμένη δὲ
πάρειμι
σμικρῆς ὄρνιθος κοῦφον ἔχουσα νόον. 580
< B > Ἐχθαίρω δὲ γυναῖκα περιδρομον, ἄνδρα τε
μάργον
ὃς τὴν ἀλλοτρίην βούλετ' ἄρουραν ἀροῦν.
< A· καὶ B > Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν προβέβηκεν, ἀμήχανόν
ἐστι γενέσθαι
ἀργά·² τὰ δ' ἐξοπίσω, τῶν φυλακῇ μελέτω.

585–590

Πᾶσιν τοι κίνδυνος ἐπ' ἔργμασιν, οὐδέ τις οἶδεν
πῇ σχήσειν μέλλει πρήγματος ἀρχομένου.³
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν εὐδοκιμεῖν⁴ πειρώμενος οὐ προνοήσας
εἰς μεγάλην ἄτην καὶ χαλεπὴν ἔπεσεν, 588
τῷ δὲ καλῶς⁵ ποιεῦντι θεὸς περὶ πάντα τίθησιν⁶
συντυχίην ἀγαθήν, ἔκλυσιν ἀφροσύνης.

591–592

Τολμᾶν χρὴ τὰ διδοῦσι θεοὶ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν,
ῥηιδίως δὲ φέρειν ἀμφοτέρων τὸ λάχος.

¹ Schneid: mss ῥήδιον
μέλλει σχήσ. χρήματος
(some mss glossed καλῶς)

² Eldick: mss ἔργα
⁴ Sol εἶ ἔρδειν
⁶ Sol. δίδωσιν

³ Sol.
⁵ Sol κακῶς

THEOGNIS

577-578

'Tis easier to make bad of good than good of bad;
teach me not, for in sooth I am too old to learn.

579-584

She. I hate a bad man and veil my face as I pass
him, keeping my heart light as a little bird's.

He. And I hate both a gadabout woman and
a lustful man that chooseth to plough another's
land.

Both. But what 's done cannot be undone: 'tis the
future that needs watch and ward.

585-590

Surely there 's risk in every sort of business, nor
know we at the beginning of a matter where we shall
come to shore, nay, sometimes he that striveth to be
of good repute falleth unawares into ruin great and
sore, whereas for the doer of good God maketh good
hap in all things, to be his deliverance from folly.¹

591-592

We ought to put up with that which the Gods give
to man, and bear in patience either lot.

¹ the contrast lies between the man who does good and the
man who tries to seem good—a perversion, perh not designed,
of SOLON 13. 65 ff. · cf Stob *Fl* 111. 16, Apost. 13 100 d,
Boiss. *An.* 4. 455

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

593-594

Μήτε κακοῖσιν ἀσώ τι λῖην¹ φρένα μήτ' ἀγα-
θοῖσιν
τερφθῆς² ἑξαπίνης πρὶν τέλος ἄκρον ἰδεῖν.

595-602

Ἄνθρωπ', ἀλλήλοισιν ἀπόπροθεν ὦμεν ἐταῖροι·
πλὴν πλούτου παντὸς χρήματός ἐστι κόρος.
δὴν δὴ καὶ φίλοι εἶμεν³ ἀτάρ τ' ἄλλοισιν ὁμίλει
ἀνδράσιν, οἳ τὸν σὸν μάλλον ἴσασι νόον.
οὐ μ' ἔλαθες φοιτῶν κατ' ἀμαξιτὸν ἦν ἄρα καὶ
πρὶν 599
ἡλάστρεις κλέπτων ἡμετέρην φιλίην.
ἔρρε, θεοῖσιν τ' ἐχθρὲ καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν ἄπιστε,
ψυχρὸν δν ἐν κόλπῳ ποικίλον εἶχον ὄφιν.⁴

603-604

Τοιάδε καὶ Μάγνητας ἀπώλεσεν ἔργα καὶ ὕβρις
οἶα τὰ νῦν ἱερὴν τήνδε πόλιν κατέχει.

605-606

Πολλῷ τοι πλέονας λιμοῦ κόρος ὥλεσεν ἤδη
ἄνδρας ὅσοι μοίρης πλείον ἔχειν ἔθελον.⁵

607-610

Ἀρχῇ ἐπὶ ψεύδους μικρὰ χάρις· εἰς δὲ τελευτὴν
αἰσχρὸν δὴ κέρδος καὶ κακὸν ἀμφότερα⁶
γίνεται. οὐδέ τι καλόν, ὅτῳ ψεῦδος προσαμαρτῇ
ἀνδρὶ καὶ ἐξέλθῃ πρῶτον ἀπὸ στόματος.

¹ B, cf. 637 A ασωντα λ, others νοσῶντα (νοσῶν) λυποῦ
² A inserts δ' ³ E mss ὦμεν (from above) ⁴ δν and εἶχον
Sint mss ὅς and εἶχες ⁵ Stob. πλεῦν' ἐθέλουσιν ἔχειν
⁶ so Stob: mss of T. -ρον

THEOGNIS

593-594

Neither make thy heart too sick with evil things
nor too quickly glad of good, ere thou see the final
end.

595-602

Let us be comiades apart, man; of all save riches
there's apt to be too much: we have long been friends,
I know,¹ but seek thou now the company of others,
who know thy mind better than I. I know well
enough thou wast a-coming and a-going by the road
it seems thou hadst trod before,² cheating my friend-
ship. Go with a curse, hated of God and untrust-
worthy for man, thou chill and wily snake that I
cherished in my bosom

603-604

Such deeds, such pride, destroyed the Magnesians;
as now prevail in this sacred city.

605-606

'Tis sure that of all that ever wished to overreach
their destiny, surfeit hath slain many more than
hunger.³

607-610

At the beginning of a lie there's but little pleasure,
and at the end the gain becometh both dishonourable
and bad, nor is there ought honourable for him that is
attended of a lie, when once it hath passed his lips ⁴

¹ καί ² metaphorical ³ cf. Teles ap. Stob. *Fl.* 95 21
(605), Stob. *Fl.* 18 10, Maxim. Conf. 2 613 (605-6) ⁴ cf.
Stob. *Fl.* 11 17 (607-10)

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

611-614

Οὐ χαλεπὸν ψέξαι τὸν πλησίον, οὐδὲ μὲν αὐτὸν
αἰνῆσαι· δειλοῖς ἀνδράσι ταῦτα μέλει·
σιγᾶν δ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσι κακοὶ κακὰ λεσχάζοντες·
οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ πάντων μέτρον ἴσασιν ἔχειν.

615-616

Οὐδένα παμπήδην ἀγαθὸν καὶ μέτριον ἄνδρα
τῶν νῦν ἀνθρώπων ἡέλιος καθορᾷ.

617-618

Οὔτι μάλ' ἀνθρώποις καταθύμια πάντα τελεῖται·
πολλὸν γὰρ θνητῶν κρέσσονες ἀθάνατοι.

619-620

Πόλλ' ἐν ἀμηχανίῃσι κυλίνδομαι ἀχνύμενος κῆρ·
ἄκρην γὰρ πενίην οὐχ ὑπερεδράμομεν.¹

621-622

Πᾶς τις πλούσιον ἄνδρα τίει, ἀτίει δὲ πενιχρόν·
πᾶσιν δ' ἀνθρώποις αὐτὸς² ἔνεστι νόος.

623-624

Παντοῖαι κακότητες ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἔασιν
παντοῖαι δ' ἀρεταὶ καὶ βιότου παλάμαι.

¹ 1114 a has πολλὰ δ' and ἀρχὴν γὰρ πενίης (whence *B* πενίης here, cf. Eur *Aischel* 4 οὐ γὰρ ὑπερθεῖν κύματος ἄκραν | δυνάμεσθ' ἔτι γὰρ θάλλει πενία, κτλ. ² cf. 334 n

THEOGNIS

611-614

'Tis not hard to blame thy neighbour nor yet to praise him; such things are the care of the baser sort; the bad will not hold their tongues concerning bad things where men resort for talk, but the good know how to keep due measure in every matter.

615-616

Of the men of our time the Sun beholdeth¹ none that is altogether good and reasonable.

617-618

By no means all is accomplished to man's liking; Immortals are much stronger than mortals.²

619-620

Troubled in heart I roll in the trough amid perplexities; for we have not surmounted the crest³ of the wave of Penury⁴

621-622

Every man honoureth a rich man and despiseth a poor; the mind that is in all men is the same.⁴

623-624

In man there are badnesses of every sort, and virtues⁵ and means-to-living of every kind.

¹ or can see ² cf Stob *Fl.* 98 55 (617-8) ³ or rounded the headland ⁴ cf Stob *Fl.* 97 15 (619-22), *E M.* 758 41, Ael Dion ap Aldi *Corn* 1 4 (621) ⁵ see p 233 n 4

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

625–626

Ἄργαλέον φρονέοντα παρ' ἄφροσι πόλλ' ἀγορεύειν,
καὶ σιγᾶν αἰεὶ· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ δυνατόν.

627–628

Αἰσχρόν τοι μεθύοντα παρ' ἀνδράσι νήφοσιν
εἶναι¹
αἰσχρόν δ' εἰ νήφων παρ μεθύουσι μένει.

629–630

Ἦβη καὶ νεότης ἐπικουφίζει νόον ἀνδρός,
πολλῶν δ' ἐξαίρει θυμὸν ἐς ἀμπλακίην.

631–632

ὦ τιτινι μὴ θυμοῦ κρέσσων νόος, αἰὲν ἐν ἅταις,
Κύρνε, καὶ ἐν μεγάλαις κεῖται ἀμηχανίαις.²

633–634

Βουλεύου δις καὶ τρις ὃ τοί³ κ' ἐπὶ τὸν νόον
ἔλθῃ·
ἀτηρὸς γάρ τοι λάβρος ἀνὴρ τελέθει.

635–636

Ἀνδράσι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἔπεται γνώμη τε καὶ
αἰδώς·
οἷ⁴ νῦν ἐν πολλοῖς ἀτρεκέως ὀλίγοι.

¹ Leutsch νήφοσι μέναι
ἀμπλακίαις (from above)
mss of T. οὐ

² B mss καὶ μεγ κεῖται ἐν
³ σοί? cf 655–6
⁴ so Stob;

THEOGNIS

625-626

'Tis painful for a wise man to say much among fools, or yet to hold his peace, for silent he cannot be.¹

627-628

Assuredly 'tis a disgrace to be drunken among the sober, but disgraceful is it also to abide sober among the drunken.²

629-630

Youth and vigour make light a man's head,³ and urge the heart of many a man to wrong-doing.⁴

631-632

He whose head is not stronger than his heart, Cyrrus, leth ever in miseries and in great perplexities.

633-634

Take counsel twice and thrice concerning aught that cometh into thy mind to do; for 'tis sure a headstrong man becometh infatuate.

635-636

Judgment and respect for right are the portion of the good, and of such there are now but few, truth to tell, among many.⁵

¹ or man cannot be cf Stob *Fl* 34. 13, Diogen 2. 90, Greg. Cyr 1 86, Suid. ἀργαλέον (625-6) ² cf Stob *Fl* 18 11 (627-8) ³ *lit* mind, cf *κουφόνουσ* ⁴ cf Stob *Fl* 52. 12, Apost 8 41 f (629-30) ⁵ cf Stob *Fl* 37 17 (635-6)

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

637-638

Ἐλπίς καὶ κίνδυνος ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ὁμοῖα ¹
οὔτοι ² γὰρ χαλεποὶ δαίμονες ἀμφότεροι.

639-640

Πολλάκι παρ δόξαν τε καὶ ἐλπίδα γίνεται εὖ
 ῥεῖν³
 ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν, βουλαῖς δ' οὐκ ἐπέγεντο τέλος

641-642

Οὗτοι κ' εἰδείης οὗτ' εὖνοον⁴ οὔτε μὲν ἐχθρόν,⁵
εἰ μὴ σπουδαίου πρήγματος ἀντιτύχοις.

643-644

Πολλοὶ πὰρ κρητῆρι φίλοι γίνονται ἑταῖροι,
ἐν δὲ σπουδαίῳ πρήγματι παυρότεροι.

645-646

Παύρους κηδεμόνας πιστοὺς εὖροις κεν ἑταίρους
κείμενος ἐν μεγάλῃ θυμὸν ἀμχανίῃ.⁶

647-648

Ἦδη νῦν αἰδῶς μὲν ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ὄλωλεν,
αὐτὰρ ἀναιδείῃ γαῖαν ἐπιστρέφεται.⁷

¹ so Stob, Apost, mss of T. *ομοιοι* ² Peppm *αυτως*
perh rightly ³ Emp. *Α ευρειν*, others *ευρειν* ⁴ Wordsw:
mss *εινουν, εννουν* ⁵ E, cf. 611. mss *των εχθ* ⁶ Peppm:
κειμενον and *θυμου*, cf. *Od.* 21 88 ⁷ Stob *επεργεθ' ομως*

THEOGNIS

637-638

Hope and Risk ¹ in the world are alike; they are both Spirits difficult to do with ²

639-640

Often it cometh about that men's works flow fair and full, contrary to belief and expectation, whereas their devices come not to accomplishment ³

641-642

'Tis sure thou shalt not know either friend or foe unless thou encounter him in a grave matter.

643-644

Many become comrades dear beside the bowl, but few in a grave matter.

645-646

When thy heart lieth in great perplexity, thou'lt find few of thy kin true comrades

647-648

Now is Respect for Right perished among men, whereas Shamelessness walketh to and fro upon the earth.⁴

¹ Powell 'the spirit of adventure,' comparing Thuc. 103. 1, cf 557 ² cf Stob *FL* 110 11, Apost 7.1 b (637-8) ³ cf. Stob *FL* 111 15 ⁴ cf Stob *FL* 32 4

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

649-652

Ἄ δειλὴ Πενίη, τί ἐμοῖς ἐπικειμένη ὤμοις
 σῶμα καταισχύνεις καὶ νόον ἡμέτερον,
 αἰσχροῖα δέ μ' οὐκ ἐθέλοντα βίῃ καὶ δειλὰ¹
 διδάσκεις
 ἐσθλὰ μετ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ κάλ' ἐπιστάμενον ;

653-654

Εὐδαίμων εἶην καὶ θεοῖς φίλος ἀθανάτοισιν,
 Κύρν'. ἀρετῆς δ' ἄλλης οὐδεμιῆς ἔραμαι.

655-656

Σύν τοι,² Κύρνε, παθόντι κακῶς ἀνιώμεθα πάντες·
 ἀλλὰ τοι ἀλλότριον κῆδος ἐφημέριον.

657-658

Μηδὲν ἄγαν χαλεποῖσιν ἀσῶ³ φρένα μηδ' ἀγα-
 θοῖσιν
 χαῖρ', ἐπεὶ ἔστ' ἀνδρὸς πάντα φέρειν ἀγαθοῦ.

659-666†²

Οὐδ' ὁμόσαι χρή τοῦθ', ὅτι⁴ μήποτε πρῆγμα⁵
 τόδ' ἔσται·
 θεοὶ γάρ τοι⁶ νεμεσῶσ', οἷσιν ἔπεστι τέλος·
 καὶ πρῆξαι μέντοι τι. καὶ ἐκ κακοῦ ἐσθλὸν
 ἔγεντο, 661
 καὶ κακὸν ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ· καί τε πενιχρὸς ἀνὴρ

¹ Ahr (lost by hapl) mss καὶ (Stob κακὰ) πολλὰ

² mss also σοι, perh rightly, cf 633-4

³ Sch in some mss ἡγουν λυποῦ, cf. 593 n

⁴ Cam mss τοῦτο τί (τι),

THEOGNIS

649-652

Fie, miserable Penury, why liest thou upon my shoulders and puttest both my body and mind to shame, and teachest me perforce things dishonourable and mean, albeit I know what is good and honourable among men ? ¹

653-654

May I be happy and beloved of the Immortal Gods, Cyrrus; that is the only achievement I desire ²

655-656

We all feel sorry, Cyrrus, for thy trouble, yet remember thou that pain for another is pain for a day.

657-658

Never be thou too sick at heart in ill fortune nor rejoice overmuch in good, for it becometh a good man to bear all things.

659-666†³

Neither shouldst thou swear that a thing ³ can never be—for the Gods resent it and the end is theirs—albeit thou shouldst do *something*. Good may come of bad, and bad of good; a poor man may very

¹ cf Stob. *Fl* 96 14 (adding 177-8) (649-52) ² cf Stob. 103 12, Apost 8. 6f (653-4) ³ i.e. such-and-such a thing, cf Theophr *Char* 8 2

τοῦτο, τοῦτω
γάρ τε, καὶ γὰρ

⁵ mss *πράγμα*, cf 661

⁶ Herm mss

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

αἶψα μάλ' ἐπλούτησε· καὶ ὃς μάλα πολλὰ
πέπαται,¹
ἐξαπίνης πάντ' οὖν² ὤλεσε νυκτὶ μιῇ·
καὶ σῶφρων ἤμαρτε καὶ ἄφρονι πολλάκι δόξα
ἔσπετο, καὶ τιμῆς καὶ κακὸς ὦν ἔλαχεν.

667-682

Εἰ μὲν χρήματ' ἔχοιμι, Σιμωνίδη, οἷάπερ ἦθ³
οὐκ ἂν ἀνιώμην⁴ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσι συνών·
νῦν δέ με γινώσκοντα παρέρχεται, εἰμὶ δ' ἄφωνος
χρημοσύνη, πολλῶν γνοὺς ἂν⁵ ἄμεινον ἐτέων,⁶
οὐνεκα νῦν φερόμεσθα καθ' ἰστία λευκὰ βαλόντες
Μηλίου ἐκ πόντου νύκτα διὰ δνοφέρην· 672
ἀντλεῖν δ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν· ὑπερβάλλει δὲ θάλασσα
ἄμφοτέρων τοίχων· ἥ μάλα τις χαλεπῶς
σῶζεται οἷ' ἔρδουσι.⁷ κυβερνήτην μὲν ἔπαυσαν
ἐσθλόν, ὅτις φυλακὴν εἶχεν ἐπισταμένως,
χρήματα δ' ἀρπάζουσι βίη· κόσμος δ' ἀπόλωλεν,
δασμὸς δ' οὐκέτ' ἴσος γίνεται ἐς τὸ μέσον· 678
φορτηγοὶ δ' ἄρχουσι, κακοὶ δ' ἀγαθῶν καθύ-
περθεν·
δειμαίνω μὴ πῶς ναῦν κατὰ κύμα πίη.
ταυτὰ μοι ἡνίχθω κεχρησμένα⁸ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσιν·
γινώσκοι δ' ἂν τις καὶ κακός,⁹ ἂν σοφὸς ᾖ.

¹ Brunck. mss πέπασται ² Α απο τοῦν (emendation of πουν?) ³ Platt, cf. 970: mss ἤδη, ἥδαιν ⁴ Α ἂν ἀνιώμην, others ἀνιώμην ⁵ Α γνοῦσαν ⁶ Β (but ἐτῶν) mss ἔτι
⁷ Bek Α οἷδ' ἐρδουσι, others οἱ δ' ἐϋδοισι (ἐρδ) ⁸ Ε. mss κεκρυμμένα ⁹ Brunck-Schn mss κακόν

¹ sc. ἀνὴρ from above. cf Stob Fl 106 9 (665-6).
² i.e. according to my deserts, this poem is prob by
310

THEOGNIS

quickly become rich, and he that hath very great possessions lose them all suddenly in one night; the wise may err, and fame often cometh to the fool and honour to the bad.¹

667-682

Had I wealth, Simonides, equal to my character,² I should not be so sad as I am in the company of the good. But alas! Wealth passeth by one that he knoweth,³ and I am speechless for want, albeit I should have seen⁴ better than many of my fellow-townsmen that now, with our white sails lowered,⁵ we are carried through the murky night from out the Melian Sea,⁶ and bale they will not, though the sea washeth over both gunwales; O but great is our jeopardy that they do what they do!—they have stayed the hand of a good steersman who had them in the keeping of his skill, and they seize the cargo perforce, order there is none, and fair division for all is no more⁷; the menial porters⁸ are in command, and the bad above the good; I fear me lest the ship be swallowed of the waves. Such be my riddling oracle for the good, but a bad man will understand it also, if he have wit.

EUENUS, cf 467 ³ if the text is sound the subject to *παρέρχεται* is *χρήματα*, but this personification is difficult, particularly after *ἔχοιμι*, read *παρέρχεαι* 'thou passest by' ?
⁴ strictly *ἄν* is illogical, he means he should have told (*ἄν*) what in any case he recognises, namely that, etc ⁵ *ι ε* under bare poles ⁶ *ι ε* into the open sea S of Melos ⁷ *ι ε* of food and drink? or of the cargo? ⁸ apparently stevedores or the like carried with the cargo, as opposed to sailors proper

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

683-686

Πολλοὶ πλοῦτον ἔχουσιν αἰδρίες· οἱ δὲ τὰ καλὰ
ζητοῦσιν χαλεπῇ τειρόμενοι πενίῃ·
ἔρδειν δ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἀμυχανίη παράκειται
εἵργει γὰρ τοὺς μὲν χρήματα, τοὺς δὲ νόος.

687-688

Οὐκ ἔστι θνητοῖσι πρὸς ἀθανάτους μαχέσασθαι,
οὐδὲ δίκην εἰπεῖν· οὐδενὶ τοῦτο θέμις.

689-690

Οὐ χρὴ πημαίνειν ὅτε¹ μὴ πημαντέον εἴη,
οὐδ' ἔρδειν ὅτι² μὴ λώιον ᾗ τελέσαι.

691-692

Χαίρων ἐκτελέσειας³ ὁδὸν μεγάλου διὰ πόντου,
καί σε Ποσειδάων χάρμα φίλοις ἀγάγοι.

693-694

Πολλοὺς τοι κόρος ἄνδρας ἀπώλεσεν ἀφραίνοντας·
γινῶναι γὰρ χαλεπὸν μέτρον, ὅτ' ἐσθλὰ παρῇ.

695-696

Οὐ δύναμαί σοι,⁴ θυμέ, παρασχεῖν⁵ ἄρμενα
πάντα·
τέτλαθι· τῶν δὲ καλῶν οὔτι σὺ μούνος ἐρᾷς.

¹ some mss ὅτι which Herw prefers, reading σημαίνειν and
σημαντέον ² some mss ὅτε (from above) ³ Heck mss
εἶ τε λ which Sitz keeps, taking Χαίρων as name ⁴ cf.
Kretschmer *Gr. Vaseninschr* 87 56 (οὐ δύναμ' αὖ) ⁵ Usen.
-σκέμεν

THEOGNIS

683-686

Many that have riches are ignorant, and others that seek things beautiful are worn with sore penury, and for doing aught, Perplexity sitteth beside either sort,¹ seeing that the one kind is constrained in the matter of wits, the other of possessions ²

687-688

'Tis not for mortals to fight Immortals, nor yet to give them judgment; this is not right for any man.

689-690

We should not make ruin where ruin should not be made,³ nor yet do what it is not better to do ⁴

691-692

Mayst thou safely accomplish thy journey across the great sea, and Poseidon take thee to be a delight unto thy friends.⁵

693-694

Surfeit, 'tis sure, destroyeth many a fool, because it is hard to know the due measure when good things are to thy hand.⁶

695-696

I cannot furnish thee, my soul, with all things meet for thee: be patient; thou art not the only lover of things beautiful.⁷

¹ as it were at table ² cf Stob *Fl* 92. 9 (683-6) ³ or, *emending the Greek*, command what should not be commanded ⁴ i e what is better left undone ⁵ probably sarcastic ⁶ cf Stob *Fl* 4 45 ⁷ cf Stob. *Fl* 19 11, Apost 13 77 a (695-6), Maxim Conf 2 595 (695)

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

697-698

Εὖ μὲν ἔχοντος ἐμοῦ πολλοὶ φίλοι· ἦν δέ τι
δεινὸν
συγκύρσῃ, παῦροι πιστὸν ἔχουσι νόον.

699-728†

Πλήθει δ' ἀνθρώπων¹ ἀρετὴ μία γίνεται ἥδε,
πλουτεῖν· τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἄρ' ἦν ὄφελος,
οὐδ' εἰ σωφροσύνην μὲν ἔχοις Ῥαδαμάνθυνος
αὐτοῦ, 701

πλείονα δ' εἰδείης Σισύφου Αἰολίδεω,
ὅστε καὶ ἐξ Ἀἰδέω πολυιδρεῖησιν ἀνῆλθεν,
πείσας Περσεφόνην αἰμύλιοισι λόγοις,
ἦτε βροτοῖς παρέχει λήθην βλάβπτουσα νόοιο,
ἄλλος δ' οὐπω τις τοῦτό γ' ἐπεφράσατο, 706

ὄντινα δὴ θανάτοιο μέλαν νέφος ἀμφικαλύψῃ,
ἔλθῃ δ' ἐς σκιερὸν χῶρον ἀποφθιμένων,²
κυανέας τε πύλας παραμείψεται, αἵτε θανόντων
ψυχὰς εἵργουσιν καίπερ ἀναινομένας 710

ἀλλ' ἄρα καὶ κεῖθεν³ πάλιν ἤλυθε Σίσυφος ἥρως
ἐς φάος ἡελίου σφῆσι πολυφροσύναις·
οὐδ' εἰ ψεύδεα μὲν ποιοῖς ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα,
γλώσσαν ἔχων ἀγαθὴν Νέστορος ἀντιθέου,
ὠκύτερος δ' εἴησθα πόδας ταχέων Ἀρπυιῶν 715
καὶ παίδων Βορέω, τῶν ἄφαρ εἰσὶ πόδες
ἀλλὰ χρὴ πάντας γνώμην ταύτην καταθέσθαι,
ὥς πλοῦτος πλείστην πᾶσιν ἔχει δύναμιν.

THEOGNIS

697-698

When I am in good plight my friends are many;
if aught ill befall, there 's but few whose hearts are
true.

699-728†

To the more part of men this is the one virtue, to be
rich; all else, it would seem, is nothing worth, not
though thou hadst the wisdom of great Rhada-
manthus, and wert more knowing than Aeolus' son
Sisyphus, whose wheedling words persuaded Perse-
phone who giveth men forgetfulness by doing despite
to their wits, so that through his wilinesses he
returned even from Hades, a thing which hath been
contrived of none other, whosoever hath once been
veiled in the black cloud of Death and gone to the
shadowy place of the departed, passing the black
portal which for all their denial of guilt prisoneth the
souls of the dead; yet e'en thence, 't would seem,
to the light of the Sun came hero Sisyphus back by
his own great cunning,—nor yet though thou madest
lies like true words with the good tongue of godlike
Nestor, and wert nimbler of foot than the swift
Harpies and the Children of Boreas¹ whose feet are
so forthright. Nay, every man should lay to heart
this saying. What hath most power for all is wealth.²

¹ Zetes and Calais ² cf. Stob *Fl* 91. 2 (699-702), Stob
Fl 91 10 (717-8)

¹ Stob *πᾶσιν δ' ἀνθρώποις* ² A- μέγας ³ Bek mss
κακέϊθεν

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

719-728

Ἴσόν τοι πλουτοῦσιν, ὅτῳ πολὺς ἄργυρός ἐστιν
καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ γῆς πυροφόρου πεδία
ἵπποι θ' ἡμίονοί τε, καὶ ᾧ τὰ δέοντα¹ πάρεστι
γαστρί τε καὶ πλευραῖς καὶ ποσὶν ἄβρὰ
παθεῖν,² 722
ταῦτ' ἄφενος θνητοῖσι· τὰ γὰρ περιώσια πάντα
χρήματ' ἔχων οὐδεὶς ἔρχεται εἰς Ἀΐδεω, 726
οὐδ' ἂν ἄποινα διδοὺς θάνατον φύγοι οὐδὲ βαρείας
νούσους οὐδὲ κακὸν γῆρας ἐπερχόμενον.

729-730

Φροντίδες ἀνθρώπων³ ἔλαχον πτέρᾳ ποικίλ'
ἔχουσαι,
μυρόμεναι ψυχῆς εἵνεκα καὶ βίотου

731-752†

Ζεῦ πάτερ, εἴθε γένοιτο θεοῖς φίλα τοῖς μὲν ἀλιτροῖς
ὔβριν ἀδεῖν, εἴ⁴ σφιν τοῦτο γένοιτο φίλον
θύμῳ, σχέτλια <δ> ἔργα μετὰ φρεσὶ θ'⁵ ὅστις
ἀθηρῆς⁶
ἐργάζοιτο θεῶν μηδὲν ὀπιζόμενος, 734
αὐτὸν ἔπειτα πάλιν τείσαι κακά, μηδ' ἔτ' ὀπίσσω
πατρὸς ἀτασθαλίας παισὶ γένοιτο κακόν·

¹ Α τα ἡ λεοντα, Stob τάδε πάντα, Sol μόνα ταῦτα
² mss give old interpolation παιδός τ' ἡδὲ γυναικός ὅταν δέ κε
τῶν ἀφίκηται | ὥρη, σὺν δ' ἡβη γίνεται ἀρμόδια (mss also ἀρμόδιον,
-ος), for which see notes on Sol 24 ³ some mss δ' ἀνθρ
or ἀνθρ δ' (perh the δ' lost from 733) Platt -πους and ἔδακον
and μυρομένους, but why ποικίλα of gnats? perh ἀνθρώπων
ἔδακον 'bite at men' (like vultures at corpses) and μαρνά-
μεναι E Kukula μυρομένων, perh rightly ⁴ Herm mss
καί ⁵ for weak overlap (θυμῷ) cf 826· Α διὰ τὰ φρεσὶ δ',
others μετὰ φρεσὶ δ' (θ') ⁶ Sauppe mss ἀθήνης cf E M.
ἀθηρῆς, Hesych ἀθειρῆς

THEOGNIS

719-728

Equal, for sure, is the wealth of him that hath much silver and gold and fields of wheatland and horses and mules, to that of him that hath what him needeth for comfort of belly and sides and feet.¹ This is abundance unto men; for no man taketh all his exceeding riches with him when he goeth below, nor shall he for a price escape death, nor yet sore disease nor the evil approach of Age²

729-730

Cares of motley plumage have their portion in mankind, wailing for life and substance.³

731-752†

Father Zeus, I would it were the Gods' pleasure that wanton outrage should delight the wicked if so they choose, but that whosoever did acts abominable and of intent, disdainfully,⁴ with no regard for the Gods, should thereafter pay penalty himself, and the ill-doing of the father become no misfortune unto the children after him; and that such children

¹ *i.e.* food, clothes, and shoes, for the interpolated couplet see Solon, where for *what him needeth* we read *but this* ² = SOLON 24, Stob *FL.* 97 7 (Θεόγνιδος) (719-28) ³ meaning doubtful and text possibly corrupt, in line 1 mankind seem to be either the allotted dwelling (Harrison, *i.e.* cage, but *ἀνθρώπων* would be easier) or the allotted food (Williams, cf *Od.* 11. 42) of the bird-like Cares, line 2 may equally well mean *wailing because of, etc.*, and for *life and substance* we might read *breath and life*, with emendation the *wailing* might be mankind's (for other suggestions see opp) ⁴ the meaning of this word is uncertain

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

παῖδές θ' οἷτ' ἀδίκου πατρὸς τὰ δίκαια νοεῦντες
 ποιῶσιν, Κρονίδη, σὸν χόλον ἀζόμενοι,
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὰ δίκαια¹ μετ' ἀστοῖσιν φιλέοντες, 739
 μήτιν' ὑπερβασίην ἀντιτίνειν πατέρων.
 ταῦτ' εἶη μακάρεσσι θεοῖς φίλα· νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν
 ἔρδων

ἐκφεύγει, τὸ κακὸν δ' ἄλλος ἔπειτα φέρει.
 καὶ τοῦτ', ἀθανάτων βασιλεῦ, πῶς ἐστι δίκαιον,
 ἔργων ὅστις ἀνὴρ ἐκτὸς ἐὼν ἀδίκων 744
 μήτιν' ὑπερβασίην παρέχων² μὴδ' ὄρκον ἀλιτρόν,
 ἀλλὰ δίκαιος ἐὼν, μὴ τὰ δίκαια πάθῃ;
 τίς δὴ κεν βροτὸς ἄλλος, ὀρών πρὸς τοῦτον,
 ἔπειτα

ἄζοιτ' ἀθανάτους, καὶ τινα θυμὸν ἔχων,
 ὁππότ' ἀνὴρ ἀδικὸς καὶ ἀτάσθαλος, οὔτε τευ
 ἀνδρὸς 749

οὔτε τευ ἀθανάτων μῆνιν ἀλευόμενος,
 ὑβρίζῃ πλούτῳ κεκορημένος, οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι
 τρυχῶνται³ χαλεπῇ τειρόμενοι πενίῃ;

753—756

Ταῦτα μαθὼν, φίλ' ἐταῖρε, δικάως χρήματα
 ποιού,

σώφρονα θυμὸν ἔχων ἐκτὸς ἀτασθαλίας,
 αἰεὶ τῶνδ' ἐπέων μεμνημένος· εἰς δὲ τελευτὴν
 αἰνήσεις μύθῳ σώφροσι πειθόμενος.

757—768

Ζεὺς μὲν τῆσδε πόλῃος ὑπείρέχοι αἰθέρι ναίων
 αἰεὶ δεξιτέρην χεῖρ' ἐπ' ἀπημοσύνην,

¹ Herw. τε τὰ καλὰ, perh rightly
³ Bek. mss -ονται

² E mss κατ-

THEOGNIS

of an unrighteous sire as act with righteous intent, standing in awe of thy wrath, O Son of Cronus, and from the beginning have loved the right¹ among their fellow-townsmen, these should not pay requital for the transgression of a parent. I say, would that this were the Gods' pleasure; but alas, the doer escapeth and another beareth the misfortune afterward. Yet how can it be rightful, O King of the Immortals, that a man that hath no part in unrighteous deeds, committing no transgression nor any perjury, but is a righteous man, should not fare aright? What other man living, or in what spirit, seeing this man, would thereafter stand in awe of the Immortals, when one unrighteous and wicked that avoideth not the wrath of God or man, indulgeth wanton outrage in the fulness of his wealth, whereas the righteous be worn and wasted with grievous Penury?

753-756

Knowing this, dear comrade, gather thyself riches by rightful ways, keeping a sober heart outside of wickedness, ever mindful of these words; and at the last thou wilt approve them, persuaded by their sober tale²

757-768

May Zeus that dwelleth in the sky ever keep his right arm over this city for her safety's sake, and with

¹ or, *emending the Greek*, things beautiful ² originally perh. the last poem of a collection or part of a collection (T. himself would say *dear Cyrrnus*)

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

ἄλλοι τ' ἀθάνατοι μάκαρες θεοί· αὐτὰρ Ἀπόλλων
ὀρθώσαι γλῶσσαν καὶ νόον ἡμέτερον·
φόρμιγξ δ' αὖ φθέγγοιθ' ἱερὸν μέλος ἥδ' καὶ
αὐλός· 761

ἡμεῖς δὲ σπονδαῖς θεοῦς ἀπαρεσσύμενοι¹
πίνωμεν, χαρίεντα μετ' ἀλλήλοισι λέγοντες,
μηδὲν τὸν Μῆδων δειδιότες πόλεμον.
ὦδ' εἴη κεν ἄμεινον ὁμόφρονα² θυμὸν ἔχοντας
νόσφι μεριμνάων εὐφροσύνως διάγειν 766
τερπομένους, τηλοῦ δὲ κακὰς ἀπὸ κῆρας ἀμύναι,
γῆρας τ' οὐλόμενον καὶ θανάτιο τέλος.

769-772

Χρὴ Μουσῶν θεράποντα καὶ ἄγγελον, εἴ τι περισσὸν
εἰδείη, σοφίης μὴ φθονερὸν τελέθειν,
ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν μῶσθαι, τὰ δὲ δεικνύναι,³ ἄλλα δὲ
ποιεῖν·

τί σφιν χρήσεται μοῦνος ἐπιστάμενος ;

773-782†

Φοῖβε ἄναξ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπύργωσας πόλιν ἄκρην,
'Αλκαθόφ Πέλοπος παιδὶ χαριζόμενος·
αὐτὸς δὲ στρατὸν ὑβριστὴν Μῆδων ἀπέρυκε
τῆσδε πόλεως, ἵνα σοι λαοὶ ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ 776
ἦρος ἐπερχομένου κλειτὰς πέμπωσ' ἑκατόμβας,
τερπόμενοι κιθάρῃ καὶ θαλίῃ ἑρατῇ⁴
παιάνων τε χοροῖς ἰαχῇσί⁵ τε σὸν περὶ βωμόν.
ἦ γὰρ ἔγωγε δέδοικ' ἀφραδίην ἐσορῶν
καὶ στάσιν Ἑλλήνων λαοφθόρον. ἀλλὰ σύ,
Φοῖβε, 781

ἵλαος ἡμετέρην τήνδε φύλασσε πόλιν.

¹ B. mss -δὰς θεοῖσιν ἀρεσσόμενοι (-σάμενοι) ² Ahr -
Brunck. A. ὦδ' εἰν καὶ ἄμ. ευφρονα (others εἶναι and ἀμείνονα)

THEOGNIS

him the other Blessed Immortals; may Apollo set straight both our tongue and our wits; and may harp and pipe sound holy music; and let us conciliate the Gods with a libation, and drink in pleasant converse one with another, fearing no whit the war of the Medes 'Twere better thus, 'twere better to spend our days in jolly revelry, of one accord and cares apart, and to keep far away those evil Spirits, baleful Eld and the end that is Death.

769-772

A servant and messenger of the Muses, even if he know exceeding much, should not be grudging of his lore, but seek out this, illumine that, invent the other; what use can he make of this if none know it but he?

773-782†

Lord Apollo, Thou Thyself didst fence this city's heights, to please Alcathous¹ son of Pelops; Thou Thyself protect this city from the wanton outrage of the host of the Medes, so that in glad revelry at the coming-in of Spring the people should give Thee splendid hecatombs, rejoicing with lute and pleasant feast, with dance and cry of Paeans about Thy altar. For verily I fear me when I see the heedlessness and people-destroying discord of the Greeks But do Thou, O Phoebus, be gracious and guard this our city.

¹ a great Megarian hero

³ A δεικνύειν, whence Schmidt δεικνύειν infin cf 260
535 mss εἶρ θαλ.

⁵ A λαχοισί

⁴ cf.

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

783-788†

ἦλθον μὲν γὰρ ἔγωγε καὶ εἰς Σικελὴν ποτε
 γαῖαν,
 ἦλθον δ' Εὐβοίης ἀμπελόεν πεδίου, 784
 Σπάρτην τ' Εὐρώτα δονακοτρόφου ἀγλαὸν ἄστν,
 καὶ μ' ἐφίλευν προφρόνως πάντες ἐπερχόμενον.
 ἀλλ' οὔτις μοι τέρψις ἐπὶ φρένας ἦλθεν ἐκείνων·
 οὔτως οὐδὲν ἄρ' ἦν φίλτερον ἄλλο πάτρης.

789-792

Μήποτέ μοι μελέδημα νεώτερον ἄλλο φανείη
 ἀντ' ἐρατῆς σοφίης,¹ ἀλλὰ τόδ' αἰὲν ἔχων
 τερποίμην φόρμιγγι καὶ ὀρχηθμῷ καὶ αἰοιδῇ,
 καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐσθλὸν ἔχοιμι νόον.

793-796

Μήτε τινὰ ξείνων δηλεύμενος ἔργμασι λυγροῖς
 μήτε τιν' ἐνδήμων, ἀλλὰ δίκαιος ἑών,
 τὴν σαυτοῦ φρένα τέρπε· δυσηλεγέων δὲ πολιτῶν
 ἄλλος τοί σε κακῶς, ἄλλος ἄμεινον ἐρεῖ.

797-798

Τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄλλος μάλα μέμφεται, ἄλλος
 ἐπαινεῖ·
 τῶν δὲ κακῶν μνήμη γίνεται οὐδεμία.

799-800

Ἀνθρώπων δ' ἄψεκτος ἐπὶ χθονὶ γίνεται οὐδεῖς·
 ἀλλ' ὥς λώιον, εἰ ² μὴ πλεόνεσσι μέλοι.

¹ Vinet: mss ἀρετῆς σοφίης (A adds τ')
 ὥσει λώιον, others ὥς (ὅς) λ ὅ (ὅς, οἷ)

² Crus A ἀλλ'

THEOGNIS

783-788†

For I have been ere now to the land of Sicily, ere now to the vine-clad lowlands of Euboea, and to Sparta the glorious town of reedy Eurotas, and all made me welcome in right friendly wise, but not one of them came as a joy to my heart, so true is it after all that there's no place like home.¹

789-792

I would not have any new pursuit arise for me in the stead of delightful art; rather may I have this for mine, evermore rejoicing in lyre and dance and song, and keeping my wit high in the company of the good.

793-796

Harming neither sojourner nor citizen with deeds of mischief, but living a righteous man, rejoice your own heart; of your pitiless fellow-townsmen assuredly some will speak ill of you and some good ²

797-798

Of the good, one man is loud in blame, another in praise; of the bad there's no mention whatsoever

799-800

No man on earth is without blame; yet even so 'tis better not to be too much spoken of.

¹ of Harp *Θέογνις* (783) ² 795-6 = MIMNERMUS 11, to whom the previous couplet also prob belongs, cf. *A.P.* 9 50 (*Μιμνέρμου*) (795-6)

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

801-804

Οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων οὐτ' ἔσσεται οὔτε πέφυκεν,
 ὅστις πᾶσιν ἰδὼν δύσεται εἰς Ἀΐδεω·
 οὐδὲ γὰρ ὃς θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνάσσει,
 Ζεὺς Κρονίδης, θνητοῖς πᾶσιν ἀδεῖν δύνатаι.

805-810

Τόρνου καὶ στάθμης καὶ γνώμονος ἄνδρα θεωρὸν ¹
 εὐθύτερον χρὴ ἔμεν, ² Κύρνε, φυλασσόμενον,
 ᾧτινὶ κεν Πυθῶνι θεοῦ ³ χρήσασ' ἰέρεια
 ὁμφὴν σημήνη πίονος ἐξ ἀδύτου· 808
 οὔτε τι γὰρ προσθεὶς οὐδέεν κ' ἔτι φάρμακον
 εὔροις,
 οὔτ' ἀφελὼν πρὸς θεῶν ἀμπλακίην προφύγοις.

811-814

Χρῆμ' ἔπαθον θανάτου μὲν ἀεικέος οὔτι κάκιον,
 τῶν δ' ἄλλων πάντων, Κύρν', ἀνιηρότατον·
 οἷ με φίλοι προὔδωκαν. ἐγὼ δ' ἐχθροῖσι πε-
 λασθεὶς
 εἰδήσω καὶ τοὺς ⁴ ὄντιν' ἔχουσι νόον.

815-816

Βοῦς μοι ἐπὶ γλώσση κρατερῷ ποδὶ λὰξ ἐπι-
 βαίνων
 ἴσχει κωτίλλειν καίπερ ἐπιστάμενον.

¹ Vinet: mss -ῶν

μὲν (A μὲν)

³ mss

² Ahr., cf. *Scol.* 9 (L G iii): mss

θεὸς

⁴ sugg B· mss τῶν, τὸν

THEOGNIS

801-804

No man ever was or ever will be, who leaveth all men content when he goeth below, seeing that not even Cronus' Son, the Ruler of both Gods and men, can please all mankind

805-810

Nearer to the line¹ than compasses, ruddle, or square, Cynus, must that enquirer be diligent to be, to whom the priestess of the God declareth her answer from the rich shrine of Pytho, because neither by adding aught canst thou find any remedy, nor in taking-away escape offence in the eyes of Heaven.

811-814

I have suffered a thing not worse, it may be, Cynus, than direful Death, but more painful than all else. I am betrayed by my friends And now, brought nigh to mine enemies, of them also I shall know what wits they have

815-816

An ox that setteth his strong hoof upon my tongue restraineth me from blabbing albeit I know.

¹ *the Greek is* straighter, the word rendered *compasses* would prob include a line with two spikes for measuring out a large circle for building or the like, the idea is 'more accurate'

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

817-818

Κύρν', ἔμψης δ' ὅτι μοῖρα παθεῖν οὐκ ἔσθ'
 ὑπαλύξαι·
 ὅττι δὲ μοῖρα παθεῖν οὔτι δέδοικα παθεῖν.¹

819-820

Ἐς πολυάρητον κακὸν ἤκομεν, ἔνθα μάλιστα,²
 Κύρνε, συναμφοτέρους μοῖρα λάβοι θανάτου.

821-822

Οἷ κ' ἀπογηράσκοντας ἀτιμάζωσι³ τοκῆας,
 τούτων τοι χῶρη, Κύρν', ὀλίγη τελέθει.

823-824

Μήτε τιν' αὖξε τύραννον ἐπ' ἐλπίδι⁴ κέρδεσιν εἴκων,
 μήτε κτεῖνε θεῶν ὄρκια συνθέμενος.

825-830

Πῶς ὑμῖν τέτληκεν ὑπ' αὐλητῆρος αἰεῖδεν
 θυμός, γῆς δ' οὖρος φαίνεται ἐξ ἀγορῆς
 ἦτε τρέφει καρποῖσιν ἐν εἰλαπίναις ῥοφέοντας
 ἀνθεὺντάς τε κόμας πορφυρέοις στεφάνοις;⁵
 ἀλλ' ἄγε δῆ, Σκύθα, κεῖρε κόμην, ἀπόπαυε δὲ
 κῶμον, 829
 πένθει δ' εὐώδη⁶ χῶρον ἀπολλύμενον.

831-832

Πίστει χρήματ' ὄλεσσα,⁷ ἀπιστίῃ δ' ἐσάωσα·
 γνώμη δ' ἀργαλή γίνεται ἀμφοτέρων.

¹ B μαθεῖν ² ἐνθ' ἂν ἄριστα? E ³ sugg B mss -ζουσι
⁴ Bek., cf. 333: mss ἐλπίσι ⁵ E· mss φορέοντας |
 ξανθῆσιν τε κόμαις πορφυρέους στεφάνους ⁶ B εὐαλδῇ
⁷ Apost ὄλεσα, whence Herm. ἀπώλεσ'

THEOGNIS

817-818

'Tis past all possibility, Cynrus, to avoid what it is our lot to suffer; and what is my lot to suffer, that to suffer I fear not.

819-820

We have come into a much-desired mischief,¹ Cynrus, where best the fate of Death would take us both together.

821-822

'Tis sure there's little place, Cynrus, for them that dishonour their aged parents ²

823-824

Neither exalt a man to be despot on expectation, yielding to gain, nor slay him because thou hast taken an oath by the Gods.

825-830

How do your hearts endure to sing to the pipes, when the bounds of the land which feedeth with her fruits you that guttle at feasts and make your hair to blossom with gay chaplets, can be seen from the marketplace? Come, thou Scythian,³ shear thy locks ⁴ and give over meirymaking, and mourn for sweet-scented ⁵ lands that are lost to you.

831-832

I lost my possessions through honour, and through dishonour have I recovered them; of both these things the knowledge is bitter ⁶

¹ old age? so Platt, cf. Men Inc 26 M (cf Crates 19, Antiphan 94, 238 K) ² cf 152 ³ i.e. Greek behaving like a barbarian, cf Thracians Hor C 1 27 2 ⁴ a sign of mourning ⁵ or, *emending the Greek*, luxuriant ⁶ cf Apost. 14 13 b (831)

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

833-836

Πάντα τάδ' ἐν κοράκεσσι καὶ ἐν φθόρῳ, οὐδέ τις
 ἡμῶν
 αἴτιος ἀθανάτων, Κύρνε, θεῶν μακάρων.
 ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν τε βίη καὶ κέρδεα δειλὰ καὶ ὕβρις
 πολλῶν ἐξ ἀγαθῶν ἐς κακότητ' ἔβαλεν.

837-840

Δίτσαί τοι πόσιος κῆρες δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν,
 δίψα τε λυσιμελῆς καὶ μέθυσις χαλεπή·
 τούτων δ' ἂν τὸ μέσον στρωφήσομαι, οὐδέ με
 πείσεις
 οὔτε τι μὴ πίνειν οὔτε λίην μεθύειν.

841-844

Οἶνος ἐμοὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα χαρίζεται, ἐν δ' ἀχά-
 ριστος,
 εὖτ' ἂν θωρήξας μ' ἄνδρα πρὸς ἐχθρὸν ἄγῃ·
 ἀλλ' ὅτε τὰγκαθύπερθεν ἐόνθ' ¹ ὑπένερθε γένηται,
 τουτάκις οἴκαδ' ἔμην παυσάμενοι πόσιος.

845-846

Εὖ μὲν κείμενον ἄστνυ κακῶς θέμεν εὐμαρές ἐστιν,
 εὖ δὲ θέμεν τὸ κακῶς κείμενον ἀργαλέον ²

847-850

Λάξ ἐπίβα δῆμῳ κενεόφρονι, τύπτε δὲ κέντρῳ
 ὀξεί, καὶ ζεύγλην δύσλοφον ἀμφιτίθει·
 οὐ γὰρ ἔθ' εὐρήσεις δῆμον φιλοδέσποτον ὧδε
 ἀνθρώπων ὁπόσους ἡέλιος καθορᾷ

¹ Herm -E, cf. ἔμπροσθεν mss ὁπότεν καθύπερθεν ἐὼν

² ἄστνυ sugg B, cf. Pind P 4 272: mss ἄνδρα (and A καλῶς)

THEOGNIS

• 833-836

All things here are among the crows and perdition,
and none of the Blest Immortals, Cyrnus, is to blame ;
nay, the violence of men and their base gains and their
pride have cast us from much good into evil.

837-840

'Tis sure there are two evil Spirits of drinking
among miserable men, Thurst that looseth our limbs
and grievous Drunkenness, I shall go to and fro
between these twain, nor wilt thou persuade me
either not to drink or to drink too much.

841-844

Wine giveth me pleasure in all things save this,
when it armeth me¹ and leadeth me against mine
enemy. But when that which is above cometh to be
below, then will we give over drinking and go home.

845-846

'Tis easy to make a city's good plight ill, but hard
to make a city's ill plight good.²

847-850

Kick thou the empty-headed commons, prick
them with a sharp goad, and put a galling yoke upon
their neck ; thou shalt not find among all the men
that the Sun beholdeth,³ commons that so love their
master⁴

¹ in the passive this word is used elsewhere in T. (884) for
'to be drunk' ² *city* is an emendation of *man* ³ or can see

⁴ i e the despot, the adjective was used of slaves and dogs

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

851-852 •

Ζεὺς ἄνδρ' ἐξολέσειεν Ὀλύμπιος, ὃς τὸν ἑταῖρον
μαλθακὰ κωτίλλων ἐξαπατᾶν ἐθέλει.

853-854

Ἦδεα μὲν καὶ πρόσθεν, ἅτ' ἀρ' πολὺ λώια δὴ νῦν,¹
οὔνεκα τοῖς δειλοῖς οὔδεμ' ἐστὶ χάρις.

855-856†

Πολλάκι δὴ² πόλις ἦδε δι' ἡγεμόνων κακότητα
ὥσπερ κεκλιμένη ναῦς παρὰ γῆν ἔδραμεν.

857-860

Τῶν δὲ φίλων εἰ μὲν τις ὄρᾳ μέ τι δειλὸν ἔχοντα,
αὐχέν' ἀποστρέψας οὐδ' ἐσορᾶν ἐθέλει
ἦν δέ τί μοι³ ποθεν ἐσθλόν, ἃ παυράκι γίνεται
ἀνδρί,
πολλοὺς ἀσπασμοὺς καὶ φιλότητας ἔχω.

861-864

Οἱ με φίλοι προδιδούσι καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσί τι
δοῦναι
ἀνδρῶν⁴ φαινομένων· ἀλλ' ἐγὼ αὐτομάτῃ
ἐσπερίῃ τ' ἔξειμι καὶ ὀρθρίῃ αὖτις ἔσειμι,
ἦμος ἀλεκτρυόνων φθόγγος ἐγειρομένων.

¹ cf. 1095, *Od* 22. 29, 1038 a has λώιον ἤδη, but ἤδη without νῦν cannot be thus contrasted with πρόσθεν ² Sint· mss

πολλάκις ἢ ³ Cam. μ' ἦ (if not, supply ἦ not γίνηται because it is ἢ not δ)

⁴ Emp. ἄστρον

THEOGNIS

851-852

Olympian Zeus destroy the man that is willing to deceive his comrade with the babbling of soft words.

853-854

I knew before, but I know better now, that there 's no gratitude in the baser sort.¹

855-856†

Often and often through the worthlessness of her leaders this city, like a ship out of her course, hath run too nigh the shore.

857-860

If any friend of mine see me in evil plight, he turneth away his head and will not so much as look at me; but if perchance he see me² in good hap, the which is a rare thing, then have I many salutations and signs of friendship

861-864

My friends betray me and will give me nothing when men appear³; verily of my own accord I will go out at eventide and return at dawn with the crowing of the new-awakened cocks⁴

¹ of Praxilla 3 (*L G* III) [= 1038 A-B] ² the omission of *ὁρᾶ* (subjunctive) is easy after *ὁρᾶ* (indicative) ³ the

Greek, apparently explained by the gloss 'in the daytime,' is not usual, some editors read 'when the stars come out'

⁴ the speaker is feminine, perhaps a harlot's cat (*γαλῆ*)

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

865-868

Πολλοῖς ἀχρήστοισι θεὸς διδοῖ ἀνδράσιν ὄλβον,
ὅστις μῆτ' αὐτῷ βέλτερος οὐδὲν ἔων
μήτε φίλοις.¹ ἀρετῆς δὲ μέγα κλέος οὐπότ'
ὀλεῖται·
αἰχμητῆς γὰρ ἀνὴρ γῆν τε καὶ ἄστνυ σαοῖ.

869-872

Εν μοι ἔπειτα πέσοι μέγας οὐρανὸς εὐρύς
ὑπερθεν
χάλκεος, ἀνθρώπων δείμα χαμαιγενέων,
εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ τοῖσιν μὲν ἐπαρκέσω οἷ με φιλεῦσι,
τοῖς δ' ἐχθροῖς ἀνίη καὶ μέγα πῆμ' ἔσομαι.

873-876

Οἶνε, τὰ μὲν σ' αἰνῶ, τὰ δὲ μέμφομαι· οὐδέ σε
πάμπαν
οὔτε ποτ' ἐχθαίρειν οὔτε φιλεῖν δύναμαι.
ἐσθλὸν καὶ κακὸν ἔσσι· τίς ἄν σέ γε μωμήσαιτο,
τίς δ' ἄν ἐπαινῆσαι,² μέτρον ἔχων σοφίης;

877-878

Ἦβα μοι,³ φίλε θυμέ· τάχ' αὖ τινες ἄλλοι ἔσονται
ἄνδρες, ἐγὼ δὲ θανὼν γαῖα μέλαιν' ἔσομαι.

879-884†

Πῖν' οἶνον, τὸν ἐμοὶ κορυφῆς ὑπο⁴ Τηνυγέτιο
ἄμπελοι ἤνεγκαν, τὰς ἐφύτευσ' ὁ γέρων
οὔρεος ἐν βήσσησι θεοῖσι φίλος Θεότιμος 881
ἐκ Πλατανιστοῦντος ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ ἐπάγων·

¹ E: mss ἐσθλὸν ὅς οὐτ' αὐτῷ and οὔτε (corruption due to conjunction of μῆτε and οὐδὲν, ὄλβον ἐσθλὸν cannot be right)

² Brunck: mss -σει, -ση

ἡβάοις, ἡβάοις: 1070A τέρερό μοι

³ B: A ἡβανοί, others ἡβά οἱ,

⁴ Heck: mss-φῆς ἄπο

THEOGNIS

865-868

God giveth prosperity to many useless men¹ such as being of no worth are of no service to themselves nor to their friends. But the great fame of valour will never perish, for a man-at-arms saveth both soil and city.²

869-872

May the great wide brazen sky fall upon me—that dread of earthborn men—if I aid not such as love me, and become not a pain and great grief unto such as hate.

873-876

O Wine, in part I praise thee, and in part blame; never can I either hate thee or love thee altogether Thou art both a good thing and a bad Who would blame thee and who praise, that had due measure of wisdom?

877-878

Play and be young, my heart; there'll be other men soon, but I shall be dead and become dark earth.

879-884†

Drink the wine which came to me of the vines that were planted in the mountain dells 'neath topmost Taygetus by that friend of the Gods old Theotimus, who led cool water for them from Platanistus' spring.

¹ 'unfit for service' (Williams) ² for γῆν cf Callim. i. 7, cf Stob. *Fl* 106. 10 (865-8)

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

τοῦ πίνων ἀπὸ μὲν χαλεπὰς σκεδάσεις μελε-
δῶνας,¹
θωρηχθεὶς δ' ἔσσει πολλὸν ἐλαφρότερος.

885-886

Εἰρήνη καὶ Πλούτος ἔχοι πόλιν, ὄφρα μετ' ἄλλων
κωμάζοιμι· κακοῦ δ' οὐκ ἔραμαι πολέμου.

887-888

Μηδὲ λήην κήρυκος ἀν' οὓς ἔχε μακρὰ βοῶντος·
οὐ γὰρ πατρώας γῆς πέρι μαρνάμεθα.

889-890

Ἄλλ' αἰσχρὸν παρεόντα καὶ ὠκυπόδων ἐπι-
βάντα
ἵππων μὴ πόλεμον δακρύνεντ' ἐσιδεῖν.

891-894

Οἱ μοι ἀναλκείης· ἀπὸ μὲν Κήρινθος ὄλωλεν,
Ληλάντου δ' ἀγαθὸν κείρεται οἰνόπεδον·
οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ φεύγουσι, πόλιν δὲ κακοὶ διέπουσιν.
ὥς δὴ Κυψελιδέων² Ζεὺς ὀλέσειε γένος.

895-896

Γνώμης δ' οὐδὲν ἄμεινον ἀνὴρ ἔχει αὐτὸς ἐν αὐτῷ
οὐδ' ἀγνωμοσύνης, Κύρν', ὀδυνηρότερον

¹ cf. Theocr. 21. 5 ² Herm -B, cf. Suid κυψελιδῶν
ἀνάθημα: mss κυψελίζων (-ον)

¹ lit corsleted, cf 842 ² cf Hesych Κήρινθος and
Ληλάντου πεδίον, Cypselus overthrew the democracy of Corinth

THEOGNIS

If thou drink of this thou'lt scatter troublous cares,
and when thou hast well drunken¹ be greatly
lightened

885-886

May Peace and Wealth possess the city, so that I
may make merry with other men; I love not evil War.

887-888

And lend thou not too ready an ear to the loud cry
of the herald; we are not fighting for our own
country.²

889-890

But it would be dishonourable for me not to mount
behind swift steeds and look lamentable War in the
face.³

891-894

Alas for weakness! Ceiranthus is destroyed, and
the good vinelands of Lelantus are laid waste; the
good men are banished and evil persons order the
city. O that Zeus would destroy the race of the
Cypselids!²

895-896

There's nothing a man possesseth of himself better
than understanding, Cynus, nor bitterer than lack of
understanding.

in 655 B C and reigned till 625, his descendants ruled till c.
580, of their military operations in Euboea nothing is known,
cf Burn *JHS* 1929 34³ connexion with previous
couplet possible but doubtful

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

897-900

Zeὺς εἰ¹ πάντ' ἄνδρεςσι καταθνητοῖς χαλέπαινε,²
 γινώσκων καὶ³ νοῦν οἶον ἕκαστος ἔχει
 αὐτὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι καὶ ἔργματα τῶν τε δικαίων⁴
 τῶν τ' ἀδίκων,⁴ μέγα κεν πῆμα βροτοῖσιν ἐπῆν.

901-902

Ἔστιν ὁ μὲν χείρων ὁ δ' ἀμείνων ἔργον ἕκαστον.⁵
 οὐδεὶς δ' ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸς ἅπαντα σοφός.

903-930†

Ὅστις ἀνάλωσιν τηρεῖ κατὰ χρήματα θηκῶν,⁶
 κυδίστην ἀρετὴν τοῖς συνιέουσιν ἔχει.
 εἰ μὲν γὰρ κατιδεῖν βίотου τέλος ἦν, ὅποσον τις
 ἤμελλ' ἐκτελέσας εἰς Ἀίδαο περᾶν, 906
 εἰκὸς ἂν ἦν, ὃς μὲν πλείω χρόνον αἴσαν ἔμιννε,
 φείδεσθαι μᾶλλον τοῦτον, ἢ⁷ εἶχε βίον·
 νῦν δ' οὐκ ἔστιν. ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ μέγα πένθος
 ὄρωρεν,
 καὶ δάκνομαι ψυχὴν, καὶ δίχα θυμὸν ἔχω 910
 ἐν τριόδῳ δ' ἔστηκα· δὴ εἰςὶ πρόσθεν⁸ ὁδοί μοι·
 φροντίζω τούτων ἦντιν' ἴω πρότερην·
 ἢ μὴδὲν δαπανῶν τρύχω βίον ἐν κακότητι,
 ἢ ζῶω τερπνῶς ἔργα τελῶν ὀλίγα.
 εἶδον μὲν γὰρ ἔγωγ', ὃς ἐφείδετο, κοῦποτε γαστρὶ
 σίτον ἐλευθέριον πλούσιος ὦν ἐδίδου, 916
 ἀλλὰ πρὶν ἐκτελέσαι⁹ κατέβη δόμον Ἄιδος εἶσω,
 χρήματα δ' ἀνθρώπων οὐπιτυχῶν ἔλαβεν·

¹ B: A Κύρν' εἰ, others Κύρνε μὴ

² Herm: mss -ειν

³ Hart: mss ὥς (A γινώσκειν ὥς)

⁴ Herm: mss dat. sing.

⁵ Bek: mss ἕκαστου

⁶ E (ἀνάλωσις requires a gen.): mss

THEOGNIS

897-900

If Zeus were wroth alway with mortal men, knowing as he doth the mind of each man in his breast and the deeds alike of righteous and unrighteous, great would be the woe of man.

901-902

At each and every thing one man is better and another worse; no man alive is skilled in all things.

903-930†

If a man keep a watch on the spending of his coffers according to his possessions, that is the finest virtue to them that understand. For were it possible for us to see the end of our life, and know with how much accomplished we were to pass over into Hades, 'twould be in reason that he who expected the lot of longer life should be more sparing, so that he should have wherewithal to live. But it is not so, and that it is not I am very sad and sore at heart, and am in two minds. I stand at the crossways, there are two paths before me, I consider with myself whether of the twain to take, whether to spend nothing and wear out my life in evil plight,¹ or to live happily accomplishing but little. For I have seen one that was sparing and, for all his wealth, never gave his belly the sustenance of a freeman, yet went below ere he filled the measure of life,² and whosoever it might be received his possessions, so that his labour was vain and he gave

¹ or mean estate

² sc βίον, cf. 905-6

θηρῶν

⁷ Α τοῦτονιν, others τοῦτον δν

⁸ Α εἰς τὸ πρ

⁹ sc βίον, cf 905-6

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

ὥστ' ἐς ἄκαιρα πονεῖν καὶ μὴ δόμεν ὧ κε θέλῃσι.¹
 εἶδον δ' ἄλλον, ὃς ἦ γαστρὶ χαριζόμενος 920
 χρήματα μὲν διέτριψεν, ἔφη δ' Ὑπάγω φρένα
 τέρψας·

πτωχεύει² δὲ φίλους πάντας, ὅπου τιν' ἴδῃ.
 οὕτω, Δημόκλεις, κατὰ χρήματ' ἄριστον³ ἀπάντων
 τὴν δαπάνην θέσθαι καὶ μελέτην ἐχέμεν.
 οὔτε γὰρ ἂν προκαμὼν ἄλλω καμάτου⁴ μεταδόιης,
 οὔτ' ἂν πτωχεύων δουλοσύνην τελείois· 926
 οὐδ', εἰ γῆρας ἴκοιο, τὰ χρήματα πάντ' ἀποδραίη.
 ἐν δὲ τοιῷδε γένει χρήματ' ἄριστον ἔχειν.
 ἦν μὲν γὰρ πλουτῆς, πολλοὶ φίλοι, ἦν δὲ πένηαι,
 παῦροι, κοῦκέθ' ὁμῶς αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός.

931-932

Φείδεσθαι μὲν ἄμεινον, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ θανόντ' ἀποκλαίει
 οὐδεῖς, ἦν μὴ ὅρᾳ χρήματα λειπόμενα.

933-938

Παύροις ἀνθρώπων ἀρετὴ καὶ κάλλος⁵ ὀπηδεῖ
 ὄλβιος, ὃς τούτων ἀμφοτέρων ἔλαχεν.
 πάντες μιν τιμῶσιν ὁμῶς νέοι οἳ τε κατ' αὐτὸν
 χώρης εἴκουσιν τοί τε παλαιότεροι· 936
 γηράσκων <δ'>⁶ ἀστοῖσι μεταπρέπει, οὐδέ τις
 αὐτὸν
 βλάπτειν οὔτ' αἰδοῦς οὔτε δίκης ἐθέλει.

¹ Herw -E (or ὥς ἐθέλησεν? E) mss ω (ὥς) κε θέλη (θέλει,
 -λοι) τις ² πτώχευεν? ³ Platt λῶστον ⁴ Cam mss
 accus ⁵ Ars. κῦδος ⁶ Orelli

THEOGNIS

not to whom he would And I have seen another who, to please his belly, first wasted his substance and then said *I have had my fling*,¹ and beggeth² of all his friends wheresoever he may set eyes upon them So true is it, Democles, that 'tis best of all to spend and practise³ according to our possessions. Thus wilt thou neither toil only to give another of the fruits of thy labour, nor win to servitude⁴ by beggary, nor yet if thou come to old age will all thy possessions be run away.⁵ Nay, 'tis best in such a generation as ours to have possessions; for if thou be rich, thy friends are many, and if poor, they are few, and a good man is no longer what he was

931-932

'Tis better to be sparing; for no man bewails the dead except he see possessions left behind.

933-938

Virtue⁶ and beauty fall to but few; happy he that hath share of both⁷ He is honoured of all; alike younger and elder yield him place, and the men of his age; when he groweth old he is conspicuous among his townsmen, and no man will do him harm either in honour or in right⁸

¹ this use of *ἀπάγω* 'I go off' is prob colloquial, in any case the poem is clearly later than T. ² or, *emending text*, begged, and omit may ³ or, *less likely*, take care or pains (cf. Hes. *Op.* 457) ⁴ prob metaphorical ⁵ like a slave from his master ⁶ i.e. achievement ⁷ cf p. 155 n 2 ⁸ 935-8 apparently adapted from TYRTAEUS 12 37-40, cf *Flor. Monac.* 118, *Apost.* 14 13 6, *Ars* 501 (933-4)

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

939-942

Οὐ δύναμαι φωνῇ λίγ' αἰδέμεν ὥσπερ ἀηδών·
καὶ γὰρ τὴν προτέρην νύκτ' ἐπὶ κῶμον ἔβην.
οὐδὲ τὸν αὐλητὴν προφασίζομαι ἀλλὰ με γήρυς¹
ἐκλείπει σοφίης οὐκ ἐπιδευόμενον.²

943-944

Ἐγγύθεν αὐλητῆρος αἰέσομαι ὧδε καταστάς
δεξιός, ἀθανάτοις θεοῖσιν ἐπευχόμενος.

945-946

Εἶμι παρὰ στάθμην ὀρθὴν ὁδόν, οὐδετέρωσε
κλινόμενος· χρὴ γάρ μ' ἄρτια πάντα³ νοεῖν.

947-948

Πατρίδα κοσμήσω, λιπαρὴν πόλιν, οὗτ' ἐπὶ δῆμῳ
τρέψας⁴ οὗτ' ἀδίκους ἀνδράσι πειθόμενος.

949-954

Νεβρὸν ὑπέξ ἐλάφοιο λέων ὥς ἀλκὶ πεποιθὼς
ποσσὶ καταιμάρψας⁵ αἵματος οὐκ ἔπιον· 950
τειχέων δ' ὑψηλῶν ἐπιβὰς πόλιν οὐκ ἀλάπαξα·
ζευξάμενος δ' ἵππους ἄρματος οὐκ ἐπέβην·
πρήξας δ' οὐκ ἔπρηξα, καὶ οὐκ ἐτέλεσσα τελέσσας,
δρήσας δ' οὐκ ἔδρησ', ἦνυσσα δ' οὐκ ἀνύσας.

¹ Emp: mss μ' ἑταῖρος

² Emp. mss -os (from below)

³ Platt πᾶσι, cf 543
but cf. 1278D

⁴ Stob πρέψας

⁵ mss καταμ,

THEOGNIS

939-942

I cannot sing sweet and clear like the nightingale, for last night I went to a revel, I do not make the piper¹ my excuse, but 'tis that my voice, which is not without skill, hath left me.

943-944

Here will I stand nigh to the piper's right hand² and sing, when I have made my prayer to the Immortal Gods.³

945-946

I'll walk a path straight as a line, bending to neither side; for all my thoughts should be right and true.

947-948

I'll govern my glorious country neither turning towards the commons nor yet persuaded of unrighteous persons.⁴

949-954

Like a lion sure of his strength, I have drunk not the blood of the fawn my claws seized away from his dam;⁵ I have climbed the high walls and yet not sacked the city, I have yoked the horses and not mounted the chariot; I have done and yet not done, and achieved and yet not achieved, accomplished yet not accomplished, finished yet not finished⁶

¹ i.e. the piper's absence ² or nigh to the piper in my turn (around the table) ³ ἐπεύχομενος pres part. instead of aor with fut indic as often in Gk. ⁴ perh. belongs to the previous couplet, cf Stob. *Fl* 39. 15 (947-8) ⁵ [= 1278c-d] ⁶ meaning prob. political, some think it erotic

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

955-956

Δειλοὺς εὖ ἔρδοντι δὺω κακά· τῶν τε γὰρ αὐτοῦ
χήρευσε κτεάνων,¹ καὶ χάρις οὐδεμία.

957-958

Εἴ τι παθὼν ἀπ' ² ἐμεῦ ἀγαθὸν μέγα μὴ χάριν
οἶδας,
χρήζων ἡμετέρους αὖτις ἴκοιο δόμους.

959-962

Ἔστε μὲν αὐτὸς ἔπινον ἀπὸ κρήνης μελανύδρου,
ἡδύ τέ μοί τι δόκει ³ καὶ καλὸν εἶμεν ὕδωρ·
νῦν δ' ἤδη τεθόλωται, ὕδωρ δ' ἀναμίσγεται ὕλῃ ⁴
ἄλλης δὴ κρήνης πίομαι ἡδυπότου. ⁵

963-970†

Μήποτ' ἐπαινήσης πρὶν ἂν εἰδῇς ἄνδρα σαφηνέως,
ὀργὴν καὶ θυμὸν ⁶ καὶ τρόπον ὄντιν' ἔχει.⁷
πολλοὶ τοι κίβδηλον ἐπὶ κλοπὸν ἦθος ἔχοντες
κρύπτουσ', ἐνθέμενοι ῥυθμὸν ⁸ ἐφημέριον. 966
τούτων δ' ἐκφαίνει πάντων χρόνος ἦθος ἐκάστου.
καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ γνώμης πολλὸν ἄρ' ἐκτὸς ἔβην·
ἔφθην δ' αἰνήσας πρὶν σου κατὰ πάντα δαῆναι
ἦθεα· νῦν δ' ἤδη νηῦς ἄθ' ἐκάς διέχω.

¹ Brunck-B-E mss χηρώσει πολλῶν, Stob χήρωσις κτεάνων

² Herw ὑπ', perh rightly ³ Ahr mss τί μοι ἐδόκει ⁴ Crus ('mud,' cf Boisacq and Herodas 3 51) mss ὕδει ⁵ B (Callim 5 46 not parallel). mss ἡ ποταμοῦ ⁶ Stob

ἐπαινέσεως and σαφανέως (mss of T σαφηνῶς) and θυμὸν (mss of T ῥυθμὸν from below) ⁷ Stob: mss of T. ὅστις ἂν ᾖ

⁸ sugg. B: mss and Stob θυμὸν, cf 964n

THEOGNIS

955-956

He that doeth good to the baser sort suffereth
two ills—deprivation of goods and no thanks ¹

957-958

If thou be not thankful for a great good I have
done thee, may it be in need that thou comest next
to my house.

959-962

So long as I alone drank of the black-watered²
spring, the water thereof methought was sweet and
good, but now 'tis all fouled and the water mixed with
mud. I'll drink from another and a purer spring.³

963-970†

Never praise a man ere thou know him for certain,
what he is in disposition, in feeling, and in character.
Many, for sure, that are of a tricky counterfeit turn
of mind, hide it, putting into themselves a temper⁴
that is ordinary,⁵ yet Time exposeth the nature of
each and all of them. I too, it seems, have gone far
beyond good sense, I praised thee ere I knew all
thy ways; and now I give thee a wide berth.⁶

¹ cf *App Stob Fl* 12 22 (955-6) ² cf Mod. Gk. *νερó*
'water' (from Italian *nero* 'black') ³ our idiom differs;
Gk said 'another, a pure one' ⁴ i.e. temperament, the
Greek is *rhythm* ⁵ or, less likely, assumed for the day
⁶ Harrison; cf. *Stob Fl* 3 28 (963-8), *Orion* 8. 11, *Flor.*
Monac 107 (963)

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

971-972

Τίς δ' ἀρετὴ πίνοντ' ἐπιόινιον ἄθλον ἐλέσθαι ;
πολλάκι τοι νικᾷ καὶ κακὸς ἄνδρ' ἀγαθόν.

973-978†

Οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων, ὅτε¹ πρῶτ' ἐπὶ γαῖα καλύψῃ
εἷς τ' Ἑρεβος καταβῇ, δώματα Περσεφόνης,
τέρπεται οὔτε λύρης οὔτ' αὐλητῆρος ἀκούων,
οὔτε Διωνύσου δῶρ' ἔτ' ἀειρόμενος.² 976
ταῦτ' ἐσορῶν κραδίην εὖ πείσομαι, ὅφρα τ' ἐλαφρὰ
γούνατα καὶ κεφαλὴν ἀτρεμέως προφέρω³

979-982

Μή μοι ἀνὴρ εἴη γλώσση φίλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργῳ·
χερσὶν τε σπείδου⁴ χρήμασί⁵ τ' ἀμφοτέρα.
μηδὲ παρὰ κρητῆρι λόγοισιν ἐμὴν φρένα θέλγοι,⁶
ἀλλ' ἔρδων φαίνοιτ', εἴ τι δύναιτ', ἀγαθός.⁷

983-988

Ἡμεῖς δ' ἐν θαλίῃσι φίλον καταθώμεθα θυμόν,
ὅφρα τι⁸ τερπωλῆς ἔργ' ἐρατεινὰ φέρῃ.
αἶψα γὰρ ὥστε νόημα παρέρχεται ἀγλαὸς ἦβη
οὐδ' ἵππων ὁρμὴ γίνεται ὠκυτέρη, 986
αἵτε ἄνακτα φέρουσι δορυσσόον ἐς πόνον ἀνδρῶν
λάβρως πυροφόρῳ τερπόμεναι πεδίῳ.

989-990

Πῖν' ὁπότεν πίνωσιν· ὅταν δέ τι θυμὸν ἀσηθῆς,
μηδεὶς ἀνθρώπων γυνῶ σε βαρυνόμενον.

¹ *Ε*. mss ὅν ² *Herw* (ἔτι is needed by syntax). mss
ἐσαειράμ ³ *B* φορέω ⁴ mss also σπείδου (*Δ*), σπείδει
⁵ *Mein* ῥήμασι ⁶ *Bek* *A* θέλγοις, others τέρποι ⁷ *Ε*.
mss -όγ ⁸ *Ε* mss ὅφρ' ἔτι

THEOGNIS

971-972

What virtue is there in the winning of a tippler's prize? surely a good man often loseth it even to a bad.

973-978†

No mortal man so soon as he is covered with the earth and goeth down to the house of Persephone in Erebus is rejoiced any more with the sound either of lyre or pipe or with receiving the gifts of Dionysus. Beholding this, I will make my heart merry while yet my limbs be light and I carry an unshaking head.

979-982

I would have no man my friend with lips only, but also in deed; he must serve me willingly both with hands and with possessions;¹ nor must he soothe my heart with words beside the mixing-bowl, but show himself a good man by act, if so he may.²

983-988

Let us give our hearts to merriment while yet pleasant acts bring some joy. For splendid youth passeth quickly as a thought, nor swifter is the speed of the horses which carry a king so furiously to the labour of the lance, delighting in the level wheatland.³

989-990

Drink thou when drinking's toward; and when thy heart be grown sad, drink that no man know⁴ of thy sorrow.

¹ or, *emending the Greek*, words ² cf. *Flor. Monac.* 147 (979) ³ Crus. compares the provb. ἴππος εἰς πεδίον ⁴ not let no man know

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

991–992

"Αλλοτέ τοι πάσχων ἀνιήσεται, ἄλλοτε δ' ἔρδων
χαιρήσεις· δύναται δ' ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἀνὴρ.¹

993–996

Εἰ θείης, Ἀκάδημε, μ' ἐφίμερον² ὕμνον αἰείδειν,
ἄθλον δ' ἐν μέσσω παῖς καλὸν³ ἄνθος ἔχων
σοί τ' εἴη καὶ ἐμοὶ σοφίης πέρι δηρισάντοιν,⁴
γνοίης χ' ὅσπον ὄνων κρέσσονες ἡμίονοι.

997–1002

Τῆμος δ' ἡέλιος μὲν ἐν αἰθέρι μώνυχας ἵππους
ἄρτι παραλλάσσοι⁵ μέσσατον ἡμαρ ἐλῶν,⁶
δεῖπνου δηῦτ' ἀλέγοιμεν ὅσου⁷ τινὰ θυμὸς ἀνώγοι,
παντοίων ἀγαθῶν γαστρὶ χαριζόμενοι, 1000
χέρνιβα δ' αἶψα θύραζε φέροι στεφανώματα δ'
ἔσσαι⁸
εὐειδὴς ῥαδιναῖς⁹ χερσὶ Λάκαινα κόρη.

1003–1006

"Ἡδ' ἀρετῇ, τόδ' ἄεθλον ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἄριστον
κάλλιστόν τε φέρειν γίνεται ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ,¹⁰
ξυνὸν δ' ἐσθλὸν τοῦτο πόλῃ τε παντί τε δήμῳ,
ὅστις ἂν εὖ¹¹ διαβὰς ἐν προμάχοισι μένῃ.¹²

¹ B: A χαιρήσι δύν ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλος ἀνὴρ, others χαιρήσειν δύνα(σ)αι ἄλλοτε τ' κτλ ² μ' E, from Ath εἴτ' εἴησα καλὴν μὲν: mss of T. omit: mss also ἐφῆμερον ³ Ath -λδς quoting 993–6 to prove T's παιδεραστία ⁴ Ath δηρίωσι ⁵ E. mss παραγγέλ(λ)οι ⁶ E. mss ἔχων (due to distance from objt) ⁷ Anon (ap Schn.)–Schw –E mss δὲ (or τε, Ath. δὴ) and λήγοιμεν ὅπου (Ath. λήγοι μένος οὐ) ⁸ E: mss δ'

THEOGNIS

991-992

'Tis sure thou'lt be rejoiced sometimes by what thou shalt do, sometimes vexed by what thou shalt be done by; but to be able to do is now for one man and now for another.

993-996

If thou shouldst challenge me, Academus, to sing a pretty song, and a lad of fair beauty were to stand for our prize in a contest of our art, thou wouldst learn how much better mules be than asses.¹

997-1002

But when the high Sun's team of whole-hooved² steeds shall pass beyond the mid of day, then forth-with would I that we set ourselves to as great a dinner as a man's heart shall bid, satisfying our bellies with all manner of good things, and water for the hands be brought quickly out and garlands set in place by the slender fingers of a comely Spartan lass.³

1003-1006

This is virtue,⁴ this the noblest prize and the fairest for a wise man to win among men, a common good this for his city and all her people, when a man abideth firmly in the forefront.⁵

¹ cf Ath 7 310b (993-6), Eust. 1291 64 (996) ² cf p 139 n 2
³ cf Ath. 7 310a (ἤν δὲ καὶ ὁ Θ. περὶ ἡδυπάθειαν)
⁴ or worth or achievement ⁵ = TYRTAEUS 12 13-16
 with change, perh designed, of 'young man' to 'wise man'

εἶσω (so Ath.), δῆ σοι ⁹ Ath. -νῆς ¹⁰ Tyrt νέω ¹¹ see Tyrt. mss ἀνῆρ ¹² Cam (so Tyrt). Α μένει, others ἐνι

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

1007–1012†

Ξυνὸν δ' ἀνθρώποις ὑποθήσομαι, ὄφρα τις ἡβᾷ¹
 ἀγλαὸν ἄνθος ἔχων καὶ φρεσὶν ἐσθλὰ νοῆ,
 τῶν αὐτοῦ κτεάνων εὖ πάσχεμεν· οὐ γὰρ ἀνηβᾶν
 δις πέλεται πρὸς θεῶν οὐδὲ λύσις θανάτου 1010
 θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισι· καλὸν² δ' ἐπὶ γῆρας ἐλέγχει
 οὐλόμενον, κεφαλῆς δ' ἄπτεται ἀκροτάτης.

1013–1016

Ἄ μάκαρ εὐδαίμων τε καὶ ὄλβιος, ὅστις ἄπειρος
 ἄθλων εἰς Ἀΐδεω δῶμα μέλαν καταβῆ,³
 πρίν τ' ἐχθροὺς πτήξαι καὶ ὑπερβῆναί περ ἀνάγκη⁴
 ἐξετάσαι τε φίλους ὄντιν' ἔχουσι νόον.

1017–1022

Αὐτίκα μοι κατὰ μὲν χροίην ῥέει ἄσπετος ἰδρώς,
 πτοιῶμαι δ' ἐσορῶν ἄνθος ὀμηλικίης
 τερπνὸν ὁμῶς καὶ καλόν, ἐπεὶ πλέον ὥφελεν εἶναι·
 ἀλλ' ὀλιγοχρόνιος⁵ γίνεται ὥσπερ ὄναρ 1020
 ἥβη τιμήεσσα, τὸ δ' οὐλόμενον καὶ ἄμορφον
 αὐτίχ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς γῆρας ὑπεκρέμαται.⁶

1023–1024

Οὔποτε τοῖς ἐχθροῖσιν ὑπὸ ζυγὸν αὐχένα θήσω
 δύσλοφον, οὐδ' εἴ μοι Τμῶλος ἔπεισι κάρη.

¹ B mss ἡβης ² B: mss κακὸν ³ most mss (A) κατέβη
⁴ πέρ is strange: Crus πρὸς ἀνάγκην ⁵ most mss and Stob -ον
⁶ Mimn τὸ δ' ἀργαλέον and transp αὐτίχ' and γῆρας

THEOGNIS

1007-1012†

And a common counsel will I give to all men to enjoy their own goods while yet each hath the splendid bloom of youth¹ and thinketh noble thoughts; for to be young twice cometh not of Heaven unto mortal man, nor yet deliverance from death; baleful Eld disgraceth him that is beautiful, and layeth hands upon the crown of his head.

1013-1016

Ah, blessed and happy and fortunate is he that goeth down unto the black house of Death without knowing trouble, and ere he have bent before his foes, sinned of necessity, or tested the loyalty of his friends.

1017-1022

A sudden copious sweat floweth down my flesh and I tremble, when I behold the lovely and pleasant flowering-time of my generation, for I would it were longer-lasting; but precious Youth is shortlived as a dream, and ugly baleful Eld is hanging plumb over our heads²

1023-1024

Never will I set my neck 'neath the galling yoke of mine enemies, nay, not though Tmolus be upon my head.

¹ *lit.* is young with splendid bloom ² ll 1020-2 = MIMNERMUS 5, to whom the 3 previous ll may also belong

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

1025–1026

Δειλοί τοι κακότητι ματαιότεροι νόον εἰσίν,
τῶν δ' ἀγαθῶν αἰεὶ πρήξεις ἰθύτεραι.

1027–1028

Ῥηιδίη τοι πρήξις ἐν ἀνθρώποις κακότητος,
τοῦ δ' ἀγαθοῦ χαλεπή, Κύρνε, πέλει παλάμη.

1029–1036

Τόλμα, θυμέ, κακοῖσιν ὁμῶς ἄτλητα πεπονθώς·
δειλῶν τοι κραδίη γίνεται ὀξυτέρη. 1030
μηδὲ σύ γ' ἀπρήκτοισιν ἐπ' ἔργμασιν ἄλγος ἀέξων
ῥχθεις, μηδ' ἄχθεις,¹ μηδὲ φίλους ἀνία,
μηδ' ἐχθρούς εὐφραίνει. θεῶν δ' εἰμαρμένα δῶρα
οὐκ ἂν ῥηϊδίως θνητὸς ἀνὴρ προφύγοι, 1034
οὔτ' ἂν πορφυρέης καταδὺς ἐς πυθμένα λίμνης,
οὔθ' ὅταν αὐτὸν ἔχη Τάρταρος ἡερόεις.

1037–1038

Ἄνδρα τοί ἐστ' ἀγαθὸν χαλεπώτατον ἔξαπατῆσαι,
ὥς ἐμοὶ ἐν γνώμῃ,² Κύρνε, πάλαι κέκριται.

1038A–1038B

Ἦιδεα μὲν καὶ πρόσθεν, ἀτὰρ πολὺ λῶια δὴ νῦν,³
οὔνεκα τοῖς δειλοῖς οὐδεμὶ' ἐστὶ χάρις.

¹ Emp: A εχθεις μηδ' εχθεις, others ἔχθεις μηδ' ἄχθεις (ἄχθου),
Stob αὔχει μηδ' αἰσχεα ² E A ἐν ἐμοὶ γνώμῃ, others ἐν
ἐμῇ γνώμῃ ³ cf 853 n: mss λῶιον ἤδεα

THEOGNIS

1025-1026

'Tis sure that the mind of the baser sort is the vainer for their badness, whereas the actions of the good are ever the more forthright.

1027-1028

The doing of evil is easy, Cynus, among men, but the devising of a good deed hard.

1029-1036

Be patient in misfortune, my soul, for all thou art suffering the intolerable; 'tis sure the heart of the baser sort is quicker to wrath. Be not heavy, thou, with pain and anger over deeds which cannot be done, nor be thou vexed thereat, nor grieve thy friends nor glad thy foes. Not easily shall mortal man escape the destined gifts of the Gods, neither if he sink to the bottom of the purple sea, nor when he be held in murky Tartarus ¹

1037-1038

'Tis sore difficult, verily, to deceive a good man, the which is a judgment long given, Cynus, in my mind.

1038A-1038B

I knew before, but I know far better now, that there's no gratitude in the baser sort ²

¹ cf. Stob. *Fl* 124. 9 (1029-34) ² [= 853-4]

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

1039-1040

Ἄφρονες ἄνθρωποι καὶ νήπιοι, οἵτινες οἶνον
μὴ πίνωσ' ¹ ἄστρου Σειρίου ἀρχομένου.

1041-1042

Δεῦρο σὺν αὐλητῇρι· παρὰ κλαίοντι γελῶντες
πίνωμεν κείνου κήδεσι τερπόμενοι.

1043-1044

Εὐδωμεν· φυλακὴ δὲ πόλεως ² φυλάκεσσι μελήσει
Ἄστυφέλῃς ³ ἐρατῆς πατρίδος ἡμετέρης.

1045-1046

Ναὶ μὰ Δί', εἴ τις τῶνδε καὶ ἐγκεκαλυμμένος εὔδει,
ἡμέτερον κῶμον δέξεται ἀρπαλέως.

1047-1048

Νῦν μὲν πίνοντες τερπόμεθα, καλὰ λέγοντες·
ἄσσα δ' ἔπειτ' ἔσται, ταῦτα θεοῖσι μέλει.

1049-1054†

Σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ ⁴ οἶά τε παιδὶ πατὴρ ὑποθήσομαι αὐτὸς
ἐσθλά· σὺ δ' ἐν θυμῷ καὶ φρεσὶ ταῦτα βάλεν
μήποτ' ἐπειγόμενος πρᾶξης κακόν, ἀλλὰ βαθεῖη
τῇ φρενὶ βούλευσαι σωσιδίκῳ ⁵ τε νόφ. 1052
τῶν γὰρ μαινομένων πέτεται θυμός τε νόος τε,
βουλὴ δ' εἰς ἀγαθὸν καὶ νόον ἐσθλὸν ἄγει.

¹ most mss indic ² Ἀ πόλεως ³ mss also ᾧ (εἰ)
στυφελῆς ⁴ B: Ἀ σοὶ δε τω, others σὺ (σοὶ) δέ ⁵ E, cf
name · mss σῇ φρ. and σφ (Ἀ σφ τ') ἀγαθῇ (correction of ἀδίκῳ)

¹ the feminine ending makes it probable that this is a name; adjectives in ᾱ- are generally of two terminations, or
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THEOGNIS

1039-1040

Fools are they and childish, that drink not wine
when the Dog-Star beginneth.

1041-1042

Come thou hither with a piper; let us laugh and
drink at a mourner's, rejoicing in his loss.

1043-1044

Let us sleep; the guarding of our lovely city
Astyphele¹ her guardians shall see to

1045-1046

By Zeus, even though one of these be abed and
asleep, he will receive our serenade right gladly.

1047-1048

Now let us rejoice over our cups, saying good
things; what shall come after is for the Gods to
look to.

1049-1054†

To thee will I myself give good counsel as a father
to his child, and this is what I would have thee cast
into thy heart and mind —Never be in haste to do
an evil thing, but commune first in the depth of thy
heart with a mind that keepeth the right; for the
heart and mind of the fond are ever a-fluttering, but
counsel is needed to lead even a fine wit to what is
good

Astypalè? Sitzler sugg. *Ἀστυπάλῃς*, i.e. Astypalaea, given by
Suidas as an alternative to Colophon or Smyrna for the birth-
place of MIMNERMUS; if this is right the couplet is his

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

1055–1058

Ἄλλὰ λόγον μὲν τοῦτον ἑάσομεν, αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ σὺ
 αὔλει, καὶ Μουσῶν μνησόμεθ' ἀμφότεροι·
 αὐται γὰρ τάδ' ἔδωκαν ἔχειν κεχαρισμένα δῶρα
 σοὶ καὶ ἐμοί, συνέμεν δ' ¹ ἀμφιπερικτίοσιν.

1059–1062†²

Τιμαγόρα, πολλῶν ² ὀργὴν ἀπάτερθεν ὀρώντι
 γινώσκειν χαλεπόν, καίπερ εἰόντι σοφῷ
 οἱ μὲν γὰρ κακότητα κατακρύψαντες ἔχουσι
 πλούτῳ, τοὶ δ' ἀρετὴν οὖλομένην πευίη.

1063–1068

Ἐν δ' ἦβη πάρα μὲν ξὺν ὁμήλικι πάννυχον εὔδειν
 ἱμερτῶν ἔργων ἐξ ἔρον ἰέμενον, 1064
 ἔστι δὲ κωμάζοντα μετ' αὐλητῆρος αἰεΐδειν.
 οὐδέν τοι τούτων ³ ἄλλ' ἐπι τερπνότερον
 ἀνδράσιν οὐδὲ ⁴ γυναιξί. τί μοι πλούτός τε καὶ
 αἰδώς;
 τερπωλὴ νικᾷ πάντα σὺν εὐφροσύνῃ.

1069–1070

Ἄφρονες ἄνθρωποι καὶ νήπιοι, οἵτε θανόντας
 κλαίουσ', οὐδ' ἦβης ἄνθος ἀπολλύμενον.

1070A–1070B

Τέρπεός ⁵ μοι, φιλέ θυμέ· τάχ' αὖ τινες ἄλλοι
 ἔσονται
 ἄνδρες, ἐγὼ δὲ θανὼν γαῖα μέλαιν' ἔσομαι.

¹ E. A μενδ', others νῦν, μὴν, μὴν καὶ
 γαραπόλλων, others τιμᾷ γὰρ Ἀπόλλων

² Cam: A τινα-
³ Epkema: mss

THEOGNIS

1055-1058

But we will leave this tale, and do thou pipe unto me and we will both remember the Muses; for they it is, who have given these delightful gifts for us twain to have and our neighbours to hear.

1059-1062†²

'Tis hard even for a wise man, Timagoras, to find out the disposition of many if he see them from afar; for some keep badness hidden by wealth and others virtue hidden by baleful Penury.¹ .

1063-1068

In youth a man may sleep all night with one ² of his age and have his fill of delights, and may sing in revels to the pipe 'Tis certain nothing is sweeter either to man or woman What worth to me is wealth or honour? ³ Gaiety and good cheer together surpass all things.

1069-1070

Fools are they and childish who lament the dead rather than the loss of the flower of youth.

1070A-1070B

Be gay, my soul; there will be other men soon, but I shall be dead and become black earth.⁴

¹ cf Stob *Fl* 97. 9 (1061-2)
either gender ³ or right

² the Greek word is of
⁴ [= 877-8]

τοῦτων οὐδέεν τοι (A omits τοι)
₁ 5 ⁵ 877 ἥβα

⁴ *E* mss ἡδὲ from Μίμν.

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

1071-1074

Κύρνε, φίλους πρὸς¹ πάντας ἐπίστρεφε ποικίλον
 ἦθος,
 συμμίσγων ὀργὴν οἷος ἕκαστος ἔφυ·²
 νῦν μὲν τῷδ' ἐφέπευ, τότε δ' ἄλλοιός πέλευ ὀργήν.
 κρεῖσσόν τοι σοφίῃ καὶ μεγαλῆς ἀρετῆς.³

1075-1078

Πρήγματος ἀπρήκτου χαλεπώτατόν ἐστι τελευτὴν
 γινῶναι ὅπως μέλλει τοῦτο θεὸς τελέσαι·
 ὄρφνη γὰρ τέταπται, πρὸ δὲ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι
 οὐ ξυνετὰ θνητοῖς πείρατ' ἀμηχανίης.

1079-1080

Οὐδένα τῶν ἐχθρῶν μωμήσομαι ἐσθλὸν ἔοντα,
 οὐδὲ μὲν αἰνήσω δειλὸν ἔοντα φίλον.

1081-1082b

Κύρνε, κύει πόλις ἥδε, δέδοικα δὲ μὴ τέκῃ ἄνδρα
 ὑβριστήν, χαλεπῆς ἡγεμόνα στάσιος⁴ 1082
 ἀστοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἔασι⁵ σαόφρονες, ἡγεμόνες δὲ
 τετράφεται πολλὴν ἐς κακότητα πεσεῖν.

1082c-1082f

Μή μ' ἔπειςιν μὲν στέργε, νόον δ' ἔχε καὶ φρένας
 ἄλλη,⁶
 εἴ με φίλεις καὶ σοι πιστὸς ἔνεστι νόος·
 ἀλλὰ⁷ φίλει καθαρὸν θέμενος νόον ἢ μ' ἀποειπὼν
 ἔχθαιρ', ἐμφανέως⁸ νεῖκος ἀειράμενος.

¹ 213 θυμὲ (so A, others Κύρνε) φ κατὰ ² 214 ὁρ συ.
 ἦντιν' ἕκαστος ἔχοι ³ see 217-8 ⁴ 39 ευθυντήρα κακῆς
 ὑβριος ἡμετέρης ⁵ 39 ἔθ' οἶδε ⁶ so 87: mss here also

THEOGNIS

1071-1074

Turn to all men a changeful habit, Cyrrus, mingling thy disposition to the like of each;¹ now imitate this man, and now make thy disposition of another sort; surely skill is a better thing even than great virtue.²

1075-1078

'Tis hard indeed to see how God will accomplish the end of a matter yet undone; for 'tis all dark, and the ending of perplexity is not for man to understand ere what is to be.

1079-1080

I will blame no enemy that is a good man, nor yet praise a friend that is bad.

1081-1082B

Cyrrus, this city is in travail, and I fear me she may give birth to a proud and violent man, to be leader of sore discord;³ for albeit her citizens be discreet, their guides are heading for much mischief.⁴

1082C-1082F

If thou love me and the heart within thee be true, be not my friend but in word, with heart and mind contrary; either love me with a whole heart or disown me and hate me in open quarrel.⁵

¹ see 214n. ² [= 217-8]; see p. 233 n. 4 ³ [cf. 39-40]
⁴ [= 41-2] ⁵ [= 87-90]

ἐλλας (A) ⁷ so A and 89: others ἢ με (from above)
⁸ so A: others and 90 ἀμφαδίην

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

1083-1084

Οὕτω χρὴ τὸν γ' ἐσθλὸν ἐπιστρέψαντα νόημα
ἔμπεδον αἰὲν ἔχειν ἐς τέλος ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ.

1085-1086

Δημῶναξ, σοὶ¹ πολλὰ² φέρειν βαρύ· οὐ γὰρ
ἐπίστη
τοῦθ' ἔρδειν ὅτι σοι μὴ καταθύμιον ᾖ.

1087-1090

Κάστορ καὶ Πολύδευκες, οἱ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι δίη
ναίετ' ἐπ' Εὐρώτῃ,³ καλλιρόῳ ποταμῷ,
εἴ ποτε βουλευσάμην φίλῳ κακόν, αὐτὸς ἔχοιμι,
εἰ δέ τι κείνος ἐμοί, δις τόσον αὐτὸς ἔχοι.

1091-1094

Ἄργαλέως μοι θυμὸς ἔχει περὶ σῆς φιλότητος·
οὔτε γὰρ ἐχθαίρειν οὔτε φιλεῖν δύναμαι,
γινώσκων χαλεπὸν μέν, ὅταν φίλος ἀνδρὶ γένηται,
ἐχθαίρειν, χαλεπὸν δ' οὐκ ἐθέλοντα φιλεῖν.

1095-1096

Σκέπτεο δὴ νῦν ἄλλον· ἐμοί γε μὲν οὔτις ἀνάγκη
τοῦθ' ἔρδειν· τῶν μοι πρόσθε χάριν τίθεσο.

¹ Wel. A δημωιαξιοι δέ, others δημον δ' ἀξιοῖ and βαρύς
² δειλά? E ³ Herw : mss -τα

THEOGNIS

1083-1084

So true is it that the good man, though he change his disposition, must for evermore keep it steadfast to his friend.

1085-1086

'Tis hard for thee, Demōnax, to bear much trouble,¹ because thou knowest not how to do what is not to thy mind.²

1087-1090

O Castor and Polydeuces that dwell beside the fair-flowing river of Eurotas in holy Lacedaemon, if ever I give a friend ill counsel, grant I may have ill myself, and if he give the like to me, grant he may have it twice over.

1090-1094

My heart is troubled for thy friendship; I can neither hate nor love, knowing that 'tis as hard to hate one that is become our friend as to be friends with one that wills it not.

1095-1096

Look thou now for another; for I am under no necessity to do this thing: be thou grateful for what I have done already.³

¹ or, *emending the Greek*, to bear things low and mean
² [cf 1238] ³ [cf. 1160A-B]

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

1097-1100

"Ἦδη καὶ πτερύγεσιν ἐπαίρομαι ὥστε πετεινὸν
ἐκ λινέης νεφέλης¹ ἄνδρα κακὸν προφυγών,
βρόκχον² ἀπορρήξας· σὺ δ' ἐμῆς φιλότῆτος
ἁμαρτῶν
ὕστερον ἡμετέρην γνώση ἐπιφροσύνην.

1101-1104

"Ὅστις σοι βούλευσεν ἐμεῦ πέρι καὶ σ' ἐκέλευσεν
οἷχεσθαι προλιπόνθ' ἡμετέρην φιλήν—
ὕβρις καὶ Μάγνητας ἀπώλεσε καὶ Κολοφῶνα
καὶ Σμύρνην· πάντως, Κύρνε, καὶ ὕμμ' ἀπολεῖ.

1104A-1106

Δόξα μὲν ἀνθρώποισι κακὸν μέγα, πείρα δ'
ἄριστον
πολλοὶ ἀπείρητοι δόξαν ἔχουσ' ἀγαθοί.³
ἐς βάσανον δ' ἐλθὼν παρατριβόμενός τε μολίβδῳ
χρυσὸς ἄπεφθος ἐὼν δῆλος⁴ ἀπᾶσιν ἔση.

1107-1108

"ὦ μοι ἐγὼ δειλός· καὶ δὴ κατάχαρμα μὲν
ἐχθροῖς
τοῖς δὲ φίλοισι πόνος δεινὰ⁵ παθὼν γενόμεν

¹ Graefe, cf. *Ar. Av.* 193, *A. P.* 6. 11 mss λίμνης μεγάλης

² Scal. · mss βρόχον; cf. Hesych. σκύφον (ms σκυξίφον) and *Ath.* 11. 498 ³ 572 ἀγαθῶν ⁴ Ahr. mss καλὸς

⁵ Cam: mss δειλὰ, but cf. 1319

THEOGNIS

1097-1100

Now wing I my way like a bird from the flaxen net,
escaping an evil man by breaking the trammels;
and as for thee, thou 'st lost my friendship and wilt
learn my shrewdness too late.

1101-1104

Whosoever hath given thee counsel concerning
me and bidden thee abandon our friendship and
begone¹—pride destroyed the Magnesians and
Colophon and Smyrna, and assuredly, Cynus, will
destroy thee and thine.²

1104A-1106

Repute is a great ill unto man, trial is best;
many are reputed good that have never been tried.³
When thou shalt come to the test and be rubbed
beside lead,⁴ it will be manifest to all men that thou
art pure gold.⁵

1107-1108

O miserable me! become I am a joy to mine
enemies and a vexation to my friends because of my
sufferings⁶

¹ [= 1278A-B] ² the joining of these two couplets is
due to Harrison ³ [= 571-2] ⁴ i.e. alloyed gold
⁵ [cf. 417-8] ⁶ [= 1318A-B]

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

1109-1114

Κύρν', οἱ πρόσθ' ἀγαθοὶ νῦν αὖ κακοί, οἱ δὲ κακοὶ
 πρὶν
 νῦν ἀγαθοί. τίς κεν ταῦτ' ἀνέχοιτ' ἐσορῶν,
 τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς μὲν ἀτιμοτέρους, κακίους δὲ λα-
 χόντας 1111
 τιμῆς; μνηστέυει δ' ἐκ κακοῦ ἐσθλὸς ἀνὴρ.
 ἀλλήλους δ' ἀπατώντες ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι γελῶσιν,
 οὔτ' ἀγαθῶν μνήμην¹ εἰδότες οὔτε κακῶν.

1114A-1114B

Πολλὰ δ' ἀμνηχανίησι κυλίνδομαι ἀχνύμενος κῆρ·
 ἀρχὴν γὰρ πενίης οὐχ ὑπερεδράμομεν.²

1115-1116

Χρήματ' ἔχων πενίην μ' ὠνείδισας· ἀλλὰ τὰ μέν
 μοι³
 ἔστι, τὰ δ' ἐργάσσομαι θεοῖσιν ἐπευξάμενος.

1117-1118

Πλοῦτε, θεῶν κάλλιστε καὶ ἡμεροέστατε πάντων,
 σὺν σοὶ καὶ κακὸς ὦν γίνεται ἐσθλὸς ἀνὴρ.

1119-1122

Ἦβης μέτρον ἔχοιμι, φιλοῖ δέ με Φοῖβος Ἀπόλ-
 λων
 Λητοῖδης καὶ Ζεὺς ἀθανάτων βασιλεύς,
 ὄφρα δίκη ζῶοιμι κακῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἀπάντων,
 ἦβη καὶ πλούτῳ θυμὸν ἱαινόμενος.

¹ Heck. γνώμην

² 619 πόλλ' ἐν and ἄκρην γὰρ πενίης

³ Ἀ τεμεμοί, others τὰ υέντοι, ταῦτα μέν μοι

THEOGNIS

1109-1114

Cyrnus, they that were good are now become bad, and they that were bad good. Who can bear to behold such a thing—the good the unhonoured and the bad¹ accorded honour? and the good seeketh marriage with the bad; deceiving one another they smile one at another,² knowing no remembrance either of good things or of bad.

1114A-1114B

I roll on the ground, sore troubled at heart with perplexities; for we have not outrun the beginning of Penury.³

1115-1116

With possessions of thy own thou upbraidest my penury; yet some things I have, and others with prayer to Heaven, I shall win.

1117-1118

Wealth, fairest and most desirable of all the Gods, with thee a man becometh good even if he be bad.

1119-1122

May I have due measure of youth, and Phoebus Apollo son of Leto love me, and Zeus the king of the Immortals, so that I may live aright beyond all misfortunes, warming my heart with youth and riches.

¹ the Greek, by its idiom, has *the less honoured and the worse*
² or laugh together ³ clearly a worse version of 619-20

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

1123-1128

Μή με κακῶν μίμνησκε· πέπονθά τοι οἶά τ'
 Ὀδυσσεύς,
 ὅστ' Ἀΐδεω μέγα δῶμ' ἤλυθεν ἐξαναδύς,
 ὃς δὴ καὶ μνηστῆρας ἀνείλετο νηλεί θυμῷ
 Πηνελόπης εὖφρων κουριδίης ἀλόχου, 1126
 ἥ μιν δῆθ' ὑπέμεινε φίλῳ παρὰ παιδί μένουσα
 ὄφρα τε γῆς ἐπέβη δειμαλέους τε μυχοῦς. . . ¹

1129-1132

Ἐμπόμαι πενίης θυμοφθόρου οὐ μελεδαίνων
 οὐδ' ἀνδρῶν ἐχθρῶν οἳ με λέγουσι κακῶς·
 ἀλλ' ἦβην ἐρατὴν ὀλοφύρομαι, ἥ μ' ἐπιλείπει,
 κλαίω δ' ἀργαλέον γῆρας ἐπερχόμενον.

1133-1134

Κύρνε, παροῦσι φίλοισι κακοῦ καταπαύσομεν ²
 ἀρχήν,
 ζητῶμεν δ' ἔλκει φάρμακα φνομένῳ.

1135-1150†

Ἐλπίς ἐν ἀνθρώποισι μόνη θεὸς ἐσθλή ἔτ' ἐστίν, ³
 ἄλλοι δ' Οὐλυμπόνδ' ⁴ ἐκπρολιπόντες ἔβαν·
 ᾗχετο μὲν Πίστις, μεγάλη θεός, ᾗχετο δ' ἀνδρῶν
 Σωφροσύνη, Χάριτες τ', ᾧ φίλε, γῆν ἔλιπον.
 ὄρκοι δ' οὐκέτι πιστοὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποισι δίκαιοι,
 οὐδὲ θεοὺς οὐδεὶς ἄζεται ἀθανάτους· 1140

¹ prob. incomplete rather than corrupt, A δειλαλέους
 (a slip) ² prob. subjunctive ³ Sint mss ξνεστιν

⁴ Cam: mss -πον

THEOGNIS

1123-1128

Remind me not of misfortunes; for sure, I have suffered even as Odysseus, who escaped up out of the great house of Hades, he that so gladly and pitilessly slew the suitors of his wedded wife Penelopè, who had so long awaited him in patience beside his dear son till he set foot on the land . . .¹

1129-1132

I'll drink my fill with never a thought of soul-destroying Penury, nor yet of the enemies that slander me so; but I bewail the lovely Youth that is leaving me, and lament the approach of grievous Age.²

1133-1134

Cyrnus, let us make cease the beginning³ of evil for such friends as are yet with us, and seek medicine for a sore ere it come to a head.

1135-1150†

Hope is the one good God yet left among mankind; the rest have forsaken us and gone to Olympus. Gone ere this was the great Goddess Honesty, gone from the world was Self-Control; and the Graces, my friend, have left the earth. No more are righteous oaths kept among men, nor hath any man awe of the Immortal Gods; the generation of the

¹ the mss add *and the dire recesses*, which has not been successfully emended, prob a couplet has been lost containing *of the sea* and *left*

² this couplet is not certainly to be connected with the previous couplet, but cf Stob. *Fl.* 116.10 (1129-32)

³ or rule

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

εὐσεβέων δ' ἀνδρῶν γένος ἔφθιται,¹ οὐδὲ θέμιστας
οὐκέτι γινώσκουσ' οἷδὲ μὲν εὐνομίας.²
ἀλλ' ὄφρα τις ζῶῃ³ καὶ ὄρα φάος ἡελίοιο
εὐσεβέων περὶ θεοῦς Ἑλπίδι προσσεβέτω.⁴
εὐχέσθω δὲ θεοῖσι κατ' ⁵ ἀγλαὰ μηρία καίων
Ἑλπίδι τε πρώτη καὶ πυμάτῃ θυέτω. 1146
φραζέσθω δ' ἀδίκων ἀνδρῶν σκολιὸν λόγον αἰεῖ,
οἱ θεῶν ἀθανάτων οὐδὲν ὀπιζόμενοι
αἰὲν ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίοις κτεάνοις ἐπέχουσι νόημα,
αἰσχροὶ κακοῖς ἔργοις σύμβολα θηκάμενοι.

1151-1152

Μήποτε τὸν παρεόντα μεθεῖς φίλον ἄλλον ἐρεῦνα
δειλῶν ἀνθρώπων ῥήμασι πειθόμενος.

1153-1154

Εἴη μοι πλουτοῦντι κακῶν ἀπάτερθε μεριμνῶν
ζῶειν ἀβλαβέως μηδὲν ἔχοντι κακόν.

1155-1156

Οὐκ ἔραμαι πλουτεῖν οὐδ' εὐχομαι, ἀλλὰ μοι εἴη
ζῆν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀλίγων μηδὲν ἔχοντι κακόν.⁶

1157-1160

Πλούτος καὶ σοφίη θνητοῖς ἀμαχώτατον αἰεῖ·
οὔτε γὰρ ἂν πλούτου θυμὸν ὑπερκορέσαις,⁷
ὥς δ' αὖτως σοφίην ὁ σοφώτατος οὐκ ἀποφεύγει,
ἀλλ' ἔραται,⁸ θυμὸν δ' οὐ δύναται τελέσαι.⁹

¹ Schaf: mss -το ² Herw: mss εὐσεβίας ³ mss also ζῶοι, ζῶει (A, from *Il.* 18. 61, where the apodosis does not refer to the fut) ⁴ E. mss προσμενέτω ⁵ Schaf: mss καὶ ⁶ A.P. ἐκ τῶν and ἔχοντα ⁷ this couplet found only in Stob. ⁸ A.P. ἐθέλω ⁹ Stob κορέσαι

¹ cf Stob *Fl.* 110. 12, Apost 7 1 c (1135) ² cf A.P. 10 40 (ἄδελον), Cram A.P. 4. 374 (1151-2) [= 1238A-B] 366

THEOGNIS

pious is perished, and no longer are laws recognised, nor orderlinesses. Nay, so long as ever a man live and see the light of the Sun, let him with reverence to the Gods worship Hope also; let him pray to the Gods with splendid meat-offerings, and also make sacrifice first and last unto Hope. Let him beware alway of the crooked speech of the unrighteous, who having no respect for the Immortal Gods do ever set their heart upon other men's goods, making dishonourable covenants for evil deeds.¹

1151-1152

Never be thou persuaded by the words of men of the baser sort to leave the friend thou hast and seek another.²

1153-1154

Be it mine to live rich without evil cares, unharmed,³ and with no misfortune.⁴

1155-1156

I desire not riches, nor pray for them, but mine be it to live on a little substance with no misfortune.⁴

1157-1160

Riches and skill are ever the most irresistible of things to man; for thou canst not surfeit thy heart with riches, and in like manner he that is most skilled shunneth not skill,⁵ but desireth it and cannot have his fill.⁶

³ or doing no harm (cf 1121)

(1153-6), *A P.* 10 113 (ἀδέσποτον), *Plan.* (Θεόγνιδος) Maxim. Conf 2 572, Basil *Leg Gent* 2 183c, Sch Luc *Merc Cond.* 12, Boiss *An* 1 67, *Orac. Sib* 2 109 (1155-6) ⁵ these two words include *learned* and *learning*

⁴ cf Stob *Fl.* 103 14

⁶ cf. Stob. *Fl.* 91. 26

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

1160A(1)

*Ω νέοι οἱ νῦν ἄνδρες . . .¹

.

1160A(11)–1160B

. ἐμοί γε μεν οὔτις ἀνάγκη
ταῦθ' ἔρδειν· τῶν μοι πρόσθε χάριν τίθεσο.

1161–1162

Οὐδένα θησαυρὸν παισὶν κατανήσαι² ἄμεινον·
αἰτοῦσιν δ' ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι, Κύρνε, δίδου.³

1162A–1162F

Οὐδεὶς γὰρ πάντ' ἐστὶ πανόλβιος· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν
ἐσθλὸς
τολμᾷ ἔχων τὸ κακόν, κοῦκ ἐπίδηλον⁴ ὅμως
δειλὸς δ' οὔτ' ἀγαθοῖς τις⁵ ἐπίσταται οὔτε κακοῖσι
θυμὸν ὁμῶς μίσγειν.⁶ ἀθανάτων τε δόσεις
παντοῖαι θνητοῖσιν ἐπέρχοντ'.⁷ ἀλλ' ἐπιτολμᾶν
χρὴ δῶρ' ἀθανάτων οἷα διδοῦσιν ἔχειν.

1163–1164

*Ὄφθαλμοὶ καὶ γλῶσσα καὶ οὔατα καὶ νόος ἀνδρὶ
ἐν μέσσω στηθέων εὐξυνέτῳ φύεται.⁸

¹ two couplets have been run together and a line and a half lost, for the rest of (2) see 1095 ² *E*, cf Hdt 6. 97: A π καταθήσειν, others καταθήσειν π

⁴ 442 -λος ⁵ *E*. mss -θοῖσιν ⁶ 445 ἔχων μίμνε ⁷ one mss ἐπέρχεται (see 445n) ⁸ *B-E* mss ἀνδρῶν and ἐν συννετοῖς, Stob ἀνδρὸς and εὐξύνετος

THEOGNIS

1160A(i)

O young men, this generation. . . .¹

1160A(ii)-1160B

. . . I am under no necessity to do these things;
be thou grateful for what I have done already.²

1161-1162

'Tis better to lay-by no treasure for thy children;
rather give to good men, Cyrrus, when they ask it.³

1162A-1162F

Nobody is all-happy in all things; rather doth
the good endure to have evil albeit men know it
not, whereas the bad man knoweth not how to
mingle his heart either with good hap or with bad;
of all sorts are the gifts that come of the Gods to
man, yet must we endure to keep the gifts They
send, of whatsoever sort they be.⁴

1163-1164

The eyes, tongue, ears, and mind of a discreet
man grow in the midst of his breast⁵

¹ or O young men of this generation: in the mss this and
the next passage (cf 1095) are one ² [= 1095-6]

³ apparently a parody of 409, we should expect *μηδένα*
⁴ [= 441-6]

⁵ i.e. he keeps his thoughts to himself, *grow*,
like hair or teeth cf. Stob. *Fl.* 3 19 (1163-4)

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

1164A-1164D

Τοιοῦτός τοι ἀνὴρ ἔστω φίλος, ὃς τὸν ἑταῖρον
 γινώσκων ὀργὴν καὶ βαρὺν ὄντα φέρει
 ἀντὶ κασιγνήτου. σὺ δέ μοι, φίλε, τοῦτ' ¹ ἐνὶ
 θυμῷ
 φράζεο, καὶ ποτέ μου μνήσσαι ἐξοπίσω.²

1164E-1164H

Οὔτιν' ³ ὁμοῖον ἐμοὶ δύναμαι διζήμενος εὔρεῖν
 πιστὸν ἑταῖρον ὅτῳ μὴ τις ἔνεστι δόλος·
 εἰς βάσανον δ' ἐλθὼν παρατριβόμενός τε ⁴ μολίβδῳ
 χρυσός, ὑπερτερίης ἄμμιν ἔνεστι τύπος.⁵

1165-1166

Τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς σύμμισγε, κακοῖσι δὲ μήποθ'
 ὀμαρτεῖ,
 εὖτ' ἂν ὁδοῦ τελέης ⁶ τέρματ' ἐπ' ἐμπορίην.⁷

1167-1168

Τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐσθλὴ μὲν ἀπόκρισις ἐσθλὰ δὲ
 ἔργα·
 τῶν δὲ κακῶν ἄνεμοι δειλὰ φέρουσιν ἔπη.

1169-1170

Ἐκ καχεταιρείης κακὰ γίνεται· εὖ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς
 γνώσῃ, ἐπεὶ μεγάλους ἦλιτες ἀθανάτους.

¹ 97 ἀλλ' εἴη τοιοῦτος ἐμοὶ φίλος and ταῦτ'

² see opp.

³ 415 οὐδέν'

⁴ 417 παρατρίβομαι ὥστε

⁵ mss λόγος, νόος

(see 418n)

⁶ E. A οδουστελεῖ (ι ε σ inserted in wrong place), others ὁδοῦ τελέης (-έοις)

⁷ ἐπεμπορίου? E

THEOGNIS

1164A-1164D

Let such bē thy friend as seeketh to know his comrade's temper and beareth with him like a brother. And thou, friend, consider this well, and some day hereafter thou 'lt remember me.¹

1164E-1164H

Seek as I will, I can find no man like myself that is a true comrade free of guile; yet when I am put to the test and tried even as gold is tried beside lead, the mark of pre-eminence is upon me.²

1165-1166

Mingle with the good and never accompany the bad, when thou comest to the end of a journey on business.

1167-1168

The answer of a good man is good and his works good also, but the words of a bad man bad, and the wind carrieth them away.

1169-1170

Ill-fellowship maketh misfortunes; and well shalt thou learn it thyself, for thou hast offended the great Immortals

¹ a variant of 95-100
(cf 1104-6)

² [= 415-8], where see notes

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

1171-1176

Γνώμην, Κύρνε, θεοὶ θνητοῖσι διδοῦσιν ἄριστον¹
 ἀνθρώποις·² γνώμη πείρατα παντὸς ἔχει.
 ὦ μάκαρ, ὅστις δὴ μιν ἔχει φρεσὶν· ἧ πολὺ
 κρέσσων 1173
 ὕβριος οὐλομένης λευγαλέου τε κόρου·
 ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα βροτοῖσι κακῶν³ τῶν οὔτι κάκιον·
 πᾶσα γὰρ ἐκ τούτων, Κύρνε, πέλει κακότης.

1177-1178

Εἴ κ' εἴης ἔργων αἰσχυρῶν ἀπαθὴς καὶ ἀεργός,
 Κύρνε, μέγιστόν κεν πείραρ ἔχῃς ἀρετῆς.⁴

1178A-1178B

Τολμᾶν χρὴ χαλεποῖσιν ἐν ἄλγεσιν ἦτορ ἔχοντα,
 πρὸς δὲ θεῶν αἰτεῖν ἔκλυσιν ἀθανάτων.⁵

1179-1182

Κύρνε, θεοὺς αἰδοῦ καὶ δείδιθι· τοῦτο γὰρ ἄνδρα
 εἴργει μῆθ' ἔρδειν⁶ μῆτε λέγειν ἀσεβῆ·
 δημοφάγον δὲ τύραννον, ὅπως ἐθέλης,⁷ κατακλίνει
 οὐ νέμεσις πρὸς θεῶν γίνεταί οὐδεμία.

1183-1184

Οὐδένα, Κύρν', αὐγαὶ φαεσιβρότου ἡελίοιο
 ἄνδρ' ἐφορῶσ' ὧ μὴ μῶμος ἐπικρέμαται.

¹ Bek: mss -την. Nauck διδοῦσι θ θνητοῖσιν ἄρ ² B.
 mss -ος, -ου ³ E (τούτων below shows that 1175 referred

to both): mss ἔστι κακὸν δὲ βρ κόρος (from κόρου above)

⁴ E. mss μεγίστην and πείραν

⁵ 555 has χρὴ τολμᾶν and

THEOGNIS

1171-1176

The best thing the Gods give mortal man is judgment, Cynus; judgment hath the ends of everything. O happy he that hath it indeed! he is far stronger than baleful Pride and dolorous Surfeit; and these are of those mortal ills than which there 's none worse, for all evil, Cynus, comes from them.

1177-1178

If thou hadst never done nor suffered dishonourable acts, Cynus, thou wouldst have the greatest sum¹ of virtue.

1178A-1178B

He whose heart is in sore trouble must be patient and ask deliverance of the Immortal Gods.²

1179-1182

Honour and fear the Gods, Cynus; for this it is that stayeth a man from the doing or the saying of impious things; but a despot that devoureth the people, to lay him low by what means soever it please thee, is no cause for wrath from Heaven³

1183-1184

The beams of the world-illuming Sun look upon no man over whom there hangeth no reproach

¹ *or, without emending the Greek, a very great test* ² [cf 555-6] ³ cf. Orion 3 5 (1179-80)

ἀλγεσι κείμενον ἄνδρα
-λεῖς

⁶ Orion μήτε παθεῖν

⁷ most mss

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

1184A-1184B

Ἀστῶν δ' οὐ δύναμαι γνῶναι νόον¹ ὄντιν'
 ἔχουσιν.
 οὔτε γὰρ εὖ ἔρδων ἀνδάνω οὔτε κακῶς.

1185-1186

Νοῦς ἀγαθὸν καὶ γλῶσσ'· ἀτὰρ² ἐν παύροις
 πέφυκεν
 ἀνδράσιν οἷ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων ταμίαι.

1187-1190

Οὔτις ἄποινα διδούς θάνατον· φύγοι, οὐδὲ βαρεῖαν
 δυστυχίην, εἰ μὴ μοῖρ' ἐπὶ τέρμα βάλοι·
 οὐδ' ἂν δυσφροσύνης³ ὅτε δὴ θεὸς ἄλγεα πέμποι,⁴
 θνητὸς ἀνὴρ δώροις ἰλάμενος προφύγοι.⁵

1191-1194

Οὐκ ἔραμαι κλισμῷ βασιληίῳ ἐγκατακεῖσθαι
 τεθνέως, ἀλλὰ τι μοι ζῶντι γένοιτ' ἀγαθόν.
 ἀσπάλαθοι δὲ τάπησιν ὁμοῖον στρώμα θανόντι·
 εὐκόλος ἢ σκληρῷ κλίνεται ἢ μαλακῷ.⁶

1195-1196

Μήτι θεοὺς ἐπίορκον⁷ ἐπόμνυθι· οὐ γὰρ ἀνυστὸν⁸
 ἀθανάτους κρύψαι χρεῖος ὀφειλόμενον.

¹ 367 οὐ δύναμαι γνῶναι νόον ἀστῶν ² Heimsoeth mss
 γλῶσσα τά τ' (ταῦτ'), τὰ δ' would involve change of subj.
³ E: mss -ας ⁴ B: mss, η, -ει ⁵ B-Cam. mss βουλόμ.

THEOGNIS

1184^a-1184^b

But I cannot read the disposition of my fellow-townsmen, for I please them neither by any good I do them nor by any harm.¹

1185-1186

Mind is a good thing and so is speech, but they are found in few men that be stewards over them both.²

1187-1190

For a price no man can escape Death, nor yet grievous Misfortune, unless Fate put an end to it; nor yet when God sendeth the pains of Care can mortal man escape by appeasing them with gifts.

1191-1194

I desire not to be laid upon a royal couch when I be dead, but to enjoy some good thing while I live; thorns make as good lying for a corpse as carpets.

1195-1196

Swear no false oath by the Gods, for 'tis not possible to hide a debt from the Immortals.

¹ [= 367-8]

² *i.e.* have command of them both

-γη (-γειν) ⁶ E, sc στρώματι mss τὸ ξύλον ἢ σκληρὸν
γίνεται ἢ μαλακόν ⁷ A -ος ⁸ Emp mss ἀνεκτὸν

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

1197-1202

Ὅρνιθος φωνήν, Πολυπαίδη, ὅξ' ὑ βοώσης
 ἦκουσ', ἦτε βροτοῖς ἄγγελος ἦλθ' ἀρότου
 ὠραίου· καί μοι κραδίην ἐπάταξε μέλαιναν 1199
 ὅττι μοι εὐανθεῖς¹ ἄλλοι ἔχουσιν ἀγρούς,
 οὐδ' ἐμοὶ² ἡμίονοι κύφων' ἔλκουσιν ἀρότρου,³
 τῆς μάλα μισητῆς⁴ εἵνεκα ναυτιλίας.

1203-1206

Οὐκ εἰμ', οὐδ' ἐπ' ἐμοῦ κεκλαύσεται⁵ οὐδ' ἐπὶ
 τύμβῳ
 οἰμωχθεῖς ὑπὸ γῆν εἰσι τύραννος ἀνὴρ,
 οὐδ' ἂν ἐκεῖνος ἐμοῦ τεθνηότος οὔτ' ἀνιῶτο
 οὔτε κατὰ βλεφάρων θέρμα βάλοι δάκρυα.

1207-1208

Οὔτε σε κωμάζειν ἀπερύκομεν οὔτε καλοῦμεν,
 ἀργαλέος παρεών,⁶ καὶ φίλος εὖτ' ἂν ἀπῆς

1209-1210

Αἶθων μὲν γένος εἰμί, πόλιν δ' εὐτείχεα Θήβην
 οἰκῶ πατρώας γῆς ἀπερυκόμενος.

¹ Heck εὐαλδεῖς ² E· mss οὐδέ μοι ³ mss also (A)
 κυφόν and ἄροτρον ⁴ Hertzberg mss ἕλλης μνηστῆς
⁵ Brück mss κεκλήσ. (κικ) ⁶ Cam mss γὰρ ἐών

¹ the crane in November ² with anger, cf. *Il* 1 103
³ reading doubtful ⁴ i.e. to the laying-out of the corpse, cf.

THEOGNIS

1197-1202

I have heard the shrill voice of the bird,¹ son of Polypaüs, which is come to tell mankind to plough in season; and it hath smitten my heart black² to think that others possess my flowery fields, nor for me do the mules draw the yoke of the plough, by reason of this most hateful voyage.³

1203-1206

I will not go,⁴ nor shall a despot be mourned by me,⁵ nor go below ground bewailed by me at his grave, any more than if I were dead he would feel sorry or his eyelids shed hot tears.

1207-1208

We neither stay thee from our revel nor bid thee to it, O thou that art troublesome to us present and dear to us absent.

1209-1210

Aethon am I by race, but live in well-walled Thebes, forbidden my native town.⁶

Theophr *Char* 14. 7 ⁵ at his house ⁶ Aethon is the name Odysseus gives himself in answering Penelope, *Od.* 19 183, it is thought that this is T's signature, the simple enigma being solved for the reader by the title of the book (Harrison)

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

1211-1216

Μή μ' ἀφελὼς παίζουσα φίλους δένναζε τοκῆας,
 Ἄργυρι. σοὶ μὲν γὰρ δούλιον ἦμαρ ἔπι·
 ἡμῖν δ' ἄλλα μὲν ἐστί, γύναι, κακὰ πόλλ' ἐπεὶ
 ἐκ γῆς 1214
 φεύγομεν, ἀργαλέῃ δ' οὐκ ἔπι δουλοσύνῃ,
 οὐδ' ἡμᾶς περνᾶσι· πόλις γε μὲν ἐστί καὶ ἡμῖν
 καλὴ Ληθαίῳ κεκλιμένη πεδίῳ

1217-1218

Μήποτε πὰρ κλαίοντα καθέζομενοι γελάσωμεν
τοῖς αὐτῶν ἀγαθοῖς, Κύρῳ, ἐπιτερόμενοι.

1219-1220

Ἐχθρῷ μὲν χαλεπὸν τὸν¹ δυσμενῇ ἑξαπατῆσαι
Κύρνε, φίλον δὲ φίλῳ ῥάδιον ἑξαπατᾶν.²

1221-1222

Stob. Fl. 8 9 [π δειλίας] Θεόγνιδος

Πολλὰ φέρειν εἴωθε δέος³ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσι
 πταίσματα τῆς γνώμης, Κύρνε, παρασσομένης.

1223-1224

Ibid 20 1 [π. ὀργῆς] Θεόγνιδος.

Οὐδέν, Κύρν', ὀργῆς ἀδικώτερον, ἢ τὸν ἔχοντα
πημαίνει θυμῷ δειλὰ χαριζομένη.

¹ *E.* mss ἐχθρὸν μ χ καὶ (emendation after loss of τὸν by hapl) ² here end all mss except A, the next four couplets are citations, and occur in no ms of T. ³ *B* cf lemma: mss λόγος (emendation of hapl εἰωθεος)

THEOGNIS

1211-1216

Taunt me not in such teasing wise with my parentage, Argýris; for thee there hath been a day of servitude,¹ whereas we, madam, have suffered indeed from many other ills since we became exiles, but not from grievous slavery, nor do they put up for sale such folk as we; nay, we too have a city, and a fair city, one that bordereth on the plain of Lethè.²

1217-1218

Never let us laugh in the joy of our good fortune, Cynrus, when we sit beside a mourner.

1219-1220

'Tis hard in sooth for an enemy to deceive his foe, Cynrus, but easy for a friend to deceive his friend

1221-1222

Stobaeus *Anthology* [on cowardice] · Theognis

Fear is wont to bring many a fall to mortal man, when his judgment, Cynrus, is confounded.

1223-1224

The Same [on anger] · Theognis ·

Nothing, Cynrus, is more unrighteous³ than a disposition⁴ which giveth misery to him that hath it by indulging his heart in what is mean and low.

¹ i.e. when you became a slave ² apparently the city of Oblivion, i.e. death, cf. *Ar. Ran* 186, *Plat. Rep.* 621a (Harrison) ³ prob corrupt ⁴ Stobaeus takes this word in the meaning of 'anger'

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

1225-1226

Ibid 67 4 [ὅτι κάλλιστον γάμος] Θεόγνιδος·

Οὐδέν, Κύρν' ἀγαθῆς γλυκερώτερόν ἐστι γυναικός·
 μάρτυς ἐγώ, σὺ δ' ἐμοὶ¹ γίγνου ἀληθοσύνης.

1229-1230

Ath 10 457b [π. τὰ γριφώδη]· τοιοῦτον δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ
 Θεόγνιδος τοῦ ποιητοῦ·

ἤδη γάρ με κέκληκε θαλάσσιος οἴκαδε νεκρὸς
 τεθνηκὼς ζῶν φθεγγόμενος στόματι.
 σημαίνει γὰρ κόχλον.

B'

1231-1234²

Σχέτλι' Ἔρως, μανίαι σ' ἐπιθηνήσαντο λαβοῦσαι·
 ἐκ σέθεν ὤλετο μὲν Ἰλίου ἀκρόπολις,
 ὤλετο δ' Αἰγείδης Θησεὺς μέγας, ὤλετο δ' Αἶας
 ἐσθλὸς Ὀϊλιάδης σῆσιν ἀτασθαλίας.³

1235-1238

*Ω παῖ, ἄκουσον ἐμεῦ δαμάσας φρένας· οὗτοι
 ἀπειθῇ
 μῦθον ἐρῶ τῇ σῇ καρδίῃ οὐδ' ἄχαριν·
 ἀλλὰ τλῆθι νόῳ συνιεῖν⁴ ἔπος· οὗτοι ἀνάγκη
 τοῦθ' ἔρδειν ὅτι σοι μὴ καταθύμιον ἦ

¹ Brunck mss δέ μοι (μου)
 only ms ³ A -ίαις

² A is for this Book the
 A συνιδειν

THEOGNIS

1225-1226

The Same [that marriage is best]. Theognis :

Nothing, Cynos, is more delightful than a good wife; to the truth of this I am witness to thee and do thou become witness to me.¹

1229-1230

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner* [on enigmatic sayings]. Such is the passage from the poet Theognis :

For I am e'en summoned home by a corpse from the sea which, dead though it be, speaketh with living lips.

He means a conch.

Book II

1231-1234

Cruel Love, Frenzies were they that took thee up and nursed thee; through thee came ruin to Ilium's stronghold, came ruin to great Theseus son of Aegeus, and ruin to noble Ajax son of Oileus, by reason of thy presumptuousness.

1235-1238

Curb thy wits, lad, and listen to me; I'll tell thee a tale not unpersuasive,² nor yet unpleasing, to thy heart; try then to understand my words; thou'rt under no necessity to do what is not to thy mind.³

¹ by marrying one · ll. 1227-8 (= *Mimn* 8), once wrongly printed among the Theognidea, are now omitted ² as we say unconvincing ³ [cf 1085-6]

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

1238A-1240

Μήποτε τὸν παρεόντα μεθεῖς φίλον ἄλλον ἐρεῦνα
 δειλῶν ἀνθρώπων ῥήμασι πειθόμενος·
 πολλάκι τοι παρ' ἐμοὶ κατὰ σοῦ λέξουσιν μάταια
 καὶ παρὰ σοὶ κατ' ἐμοῦ· τῶν δὲ σὺ μὴ ξύνιε.¹

1241-1242

Χαιρήσεις τῇ πρόσθε παροιχομένη φιλότῃτι,
 τῆς δὲ παρερχομένης οὐκέτ' ἔση ταμίης.

1243-1244

Δὴν δὴ καὶ φίλοι εἶμεν·² ἔπειτ' ἄλλοισιν ὁμίλει
 ἦθος ἔχων δόλιον πίστιος ἀντίτυπον.

1245-1246

Οὐποθ' ὕδωρ καὶ πῦρ συμμείξεται, οὐδέ ποθ'
 ἡμεῖς
 πιστοὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις καὶ φίλοι ἐσσόμεθα.

1247-1248

Φρόντισον ἔχθος³ ἐμὸν καὶ ὑπέρβασιν, ἴσθι δὲ
 θυμῷ
 ὥς σ' ἐφ' ἀμαρτωλῇ τείσομαι ὥς δύναμαι.

¹ Buttm ξυνίει, see p 14
 εχθος

² E, cf 497 A ὁμεν

³ A

THEOGNIS

1238A-1240

Never be thou persuaded by the words of men of the baser sort to leave the friend thou hast and seek another;¹ for 'tis certain they will often say vain things, against thee before me, and against me before thee; so turn them a deaf ear.

1241-1242

Thou wilt rejoice in the friendship which is past, and no longer be the dispenser² of that which is passing

1243-1244

We have been friends long enough; consort thou now with others, keeping thy³ crafty ways that are so contrary to loyalty.

1245-1246

We shall never be true friends one to the other any more than fire and water will mingle together.

1247-1248

Consider my hatred and violence,⁴ and be thy heart assured I will punish thy offence to the best of my power.

¹ [= 1151-2] ² *i.e.* have it in your power to do as you like with it ³ *or* for thou hast ⁴ the Greek is perh. corrupt, *not* thy transgressions, *nor* can thine against me be supplied from below

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

1249–1252

Παῖ, σὺ μὲν αὐτως ἵππῳ,¹ ἐπεὶ σκιρτῶν² ἐκο-
 ρέσθης
 αὐθις ἐπὶ σταθμοὺς ἤλυθες ἡμετέρους
 ἡνίοχόν τε ποθῶν ἀγαθὸν λειμῶνα τε καλὸν
 κρήνην τε ψυχρὴν ἄλσεά τε σκιερά.

1253–1254

Ὀλβιος, ᾧ³ παῖδές τε φίλοι καὶ μώνυχες ἵπποι
 θηρευταὶ τε κύνες καὶ ξένοι ἀλλοδαποί.⁴

1255–1256

Ὅστις μὴ παῖδάς τε φιλεῖ καὶ μώνυχας ἵππους
 καὶ κύνας, οὐποτέ οἱ θυμὸς ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ.

1257–1258

ὦ παῖ, κιγκαλιδεῦσι⁵ πολυπλάγκτοισιν ὅμοιοι⁶
 ὀργήν, ἄλλοτε τοῖς, ἄλλοτε τοῖσι φίλος.⁷

1259–1262

ὦ παῖ, τὴν μορφήν μὲν ἔφυς καλός, ἀλλ'
 ἐπικείται
 καρτερὸς ἀγνοιῶν⁸ σῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανος·
 ἰκτίνου γὰρ ἔχεις ἀγχιστρόφου ἐν φρεσὶν ἦθος
 ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ῥήμασι πειθόμενος.

¹ B, cf Anacr 97 11 (L G). A ἵππος ² Heimsoeth,
 cf. Anacr 84 5 A κριθῶν (emendation in *pal. part.*?)
³ so Sol A ᾧ ⁴ Sol καὶ κύνες ἀγρευταὶ καὶ ξένος
 ἀλλοδαπός ⁵ E, cf κίγκλος, κίγκαλος and Ael N H. 12
 9, for dimin cf Theocr. 15 121 ἀηδονιδῆς: A κινδύνοισι
⁶ Wil. A ὅμοιος ⁷ A φιλεῖν ⁸ Kukula. A ἀγνώμων

THEOGNIS

1249-1252

Lad, thou 'rt like unto a horse, because now that thou hast had thy fill of frolicking¹ thou art come again to my stall desiring a good rider, a fair meadow, a cool spring, and a shady grove.

1253-1254

Happy he that hath dear children, whole-hoovèd steeds,² hunting hounds, and friends in foreign parts.³

1255-1256

He that loveth not children⁴ and whole-hoovèd steeds² and hounds, never is his heart merry.

1257-1258

Thou hast a disposition like a gadding young wagtail's,⁵ lad; for thou 'rt loved now by these and now by those.

1259-1262

Thou'rt fair in form, lad, but a mighty great wreath of ignorances⁶ is upon thy head; for the ways of thy wits are those of a darting kite, seeing that thou art persuaded by the words of other men.

¹ *or, keeping the Gk barley* (but this would require 'elsewhere') ² *see p 139 n 2* ³ = SOLON 23 ⁴ *or lads*
⁵ *reading doubtful* ⁶ *reading and meaning doubtful, perh a metaphor from something of the nature of a dunce's cap*

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

1263–1266

*Ω παῖ, ὃς εὖ ἔρδοντι κακὴν ἀπέδωκας ἀμοιβήν,
οὐδέ τις αὐτ' ἀγαθῶν ἐστι χάρις παρὰ σοί,
οὐδέν πώ μ' ὤνησας· ἐγὼ δέ σε πολλάκις ἤδη
εὖ ἔρδων αἰδοῦς οὐδεμιῆς ἔτυχον.

1267–1270

Παῖς τε καὶ ἵππος ὅμοιον ἔχει νόον· οὔτε γὰρ
ἵππος
ἡνίοχον κλαίει κείμενον ἐν κονίῃ,
ἀλλὰ τὸν ὕστερον ἄνδρα φέρει κριθαῖσι κορεσθείς·
ὥς δ' αὖτως καὶ παῖς τὸν παρεόντα φιλεῖ.

1271–1274

*Ω παῖ, μαργοσύνης ἀπὸ μὲν¹ νόον ὥλεσας
ἐσθλόν,
αἰσχύνῃ τε² φίλοις ἡμετέροις ἐγένου·
ἄμμε δ' ἀνέψυξας μικρὸν χρόνον, ἐκ δὲ θυελλῶν
ἦκά γ' ἐνωρμίσθην νυκτὸς ἐπειγομένης.³

1275–1278

*Ωραῖος καὶ Ἔρως ἐπιτέλλεται, ἡνίκα περ γῇ
ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖς θάλλει ἀεξομένη
τῆμος Ἔρως προλιπὼν Κύπρον, περικαλλέα νῆσον,
εἴσιν ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους χάρμα⁴ φέρων κατὰ γῆν.

¹ Bek A -νης ἀπό μεν ² A δὲ ³ Passow A -γόμενος
⁴ E σπέρμα and γῆς (emendation *in mai part*)

¹ the Greek is prob a confusion for εὖ ἔρξας τυγχάνω
² less probably my lustfulness ³ or, without emendation,

THEOGNIS

1263-1266

O lad who hast given ill return for good conferred,
and hast no gratitude for kindness done thee, never
yet hast thou advantaged me, and I that have so
often served thee well have no respect at thy
hands.¹

1267-1270

Like are the minds of a lad and of a horse; the
horse weepeth not because his rider is in the dust,
but hath his fill of barley and carieth another in
his turn; and in like manner a lad loveth him that
is present to him

1271-1274

Thou hast lost me my good wits, lad, by reason of
thy gluttonies,² and art become a shame to our
friends; but to me thou hast given a little time to
refresh me, and with night at hand³ I lie quiet in
haven after the storm.³

1275-1278

Love himself riseth in due season, when the earth
swelleth and bloweth with the flowers of Spring;
ay, then cometh Love from Cyprus' beauteous isle
with joy⁴ for man throughout the world.

longing for night, connexion between the two couplets doubtful, there may be a nautical metaphor in ἀνέψυχας, which is sometimes used of letting a ship rest and dry ashore⁴ the Greek has *seed*, doubtless an old correction *in mal part*.

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

1278A-1278B

“Ὅστις σοι βούλευσεν ἐμεῦ πέρι, καί σ’ ἐκέλευσεν
οἴχεσθαι προλιπόνθ’ ἡμετέρην φιλίην . . .

1278C-1278D

Νεβρὸν ὑπέξ ἐλάφιοιο λέων ὥς ἀλκί πεποιοῦως
ποσσὶ καταιμάρψας αἵματος οὐκ ἔπιον.

1279-1282

Οὐκ ἐθέλω σε κακῶς ἔρδειν, οὐδ’ εἴ μοι ἄμεινον
πρὸς θεῶν ἀθανάτων ἔσσεται, ὦ καλὲ παῖ·
οὐ γὰρ ἀμαρτωλαῖσιν ἐπὶ σμικραῖσι¹ κáθημαι,
τῶν δὲ καλῶν παιδῶν οὐ τίσις οὐδ’² ἀδίκων.

1283-1294

ᾧ παῖ, μή μ’ ἀδίκει—ἔτι σοι καταθύμιος εἶναι
βούλομ’—ἐπιφροσύνη³ τοῦτο συνεῖς ἀγαθῇ
[οὐ γάρ τοί με δόλῳ]⁴ παρελεύσεαι οὐδ’ ἀπατήσεις·
νικήσας γὰρ ἔχεις τὸ πλεόν ἐξοπίσω, 1286
ἀλλὰ σ’ ἐγὼ τρώσω φεύγοντά με, ὥς ποτέ φασιν
Ἰασίου κούρην ἦθεον Ἰππομένην,⁵
ὠραίην περ ἐοῦσαν, ἀναινομένην γάμον ἀνδρῶν
φεύγειν· ζωσαμένη⁶ δ’ ἔργ’ ἀτέλεστα τέλει,
πατρὸς νοσφισθεῖσα δόμῳ,⁷ ξανθῇ Ἀταλάντῃ·
ὥχeto δ’ ὑψηλὰς ἐς κορυφὰς ὀρέων, 1292
φεύγουσ’ ἡμερόεντα γάμον χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης
δῶρα· τέλος δ’ ἐγὼ καὶ μάλ’ ἀναινομένην.

¹ ἐπὶ σμικραῖσιν ἄμ² E

² Boiss. A οὐτοσετοῦτ’

³ sugg B A βούλομαι εὐφρ

⁴ added by a modern

hand ⁵ E A παρθένον Ἰασίην (emendation of ἡ θεὸν

Ἰασίην)

⁶ Bek A -ην

⁷ Peppm δόμον, perh rightly

THEOGNIS

1278A-1278B

Whoso hath given thee counsel concerning me
and bidden thee abandon our friendship and be-
gone . .¹

1278c-1278D

Like a lion sure of his strength I have drunk not
the blood of the fawn my claws seized away from his
dam²

1279-1282

I have no wish to do thee harm, fair lad, not
though I should fare better at the hands of Heaven;
for I sit still under no light provocation,³ but there's
no requital made the fair, howsoever they may
deserve it⁴

1283-1294

Wrong me not, lad (still would I fain be to thy
liking), but understand this with good shrewdness;⁵
[thy wiles]⁵ shall not circumvent me nor deceive me,
thou hast won, and thine is the advantage hereafter,
but yet will I wound thee as thou fliest me, even as
they tell that the daughter of Iasius once fled [the
young Hippomenes],⁵ refusing wedlock for all she
was ripe to wed; ay, girded herself up and accom-
plished the unaccomplishable, forsaking her father's
house, the fair-haired Atalanta, and was away to
the high tops of the hills, flying from delightful wed-
lock, gift of golden Aphrodite;⁶ yet for all her
refusing, she came to know the end.

¹ [= 1101-2], incomplete ² [= 949-50] ³ or sit in
judgment on no small misdemeanours ⁴ or made to fair
lads nor yet to wicked ⁵ reading doubtful ⁶ for the pl.
δῶρα Will. cf *Il* 20. 268

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

1295—1298

ὦ παῖ, μή με κακοῖσιν ἐν ἄλγεσι θυμὸν ὀρίνης ¹
 μηδέ με σὴ φιλότης δώματα Περσεφόνης
 οἴχεται προφέρουσα· θεῶν δ' ἐποπίζεο μῆνιν
 βάζειν τ' ἀνθρώπων ἥπια νωσάμενος.

1299—1304

ὦ παῖ, μέχρι τίνος με προφεύξαι, ὥς σε
 διώκων
 δίξῃμ'. ἀλλὰ τί μοι τέρμα γένοιτο κιχεῖν
 σῆς ὀργῆς ² σὺ δὲ μάργον ἔχων καὶ ἀγήνορα
 θυμὸν 1301
 φεύγεις, ³ ἱκτίνου σχέτλιον ἦθος ἔχων.
 ἀλλ' ἐπίμεινον, ἐμοὶ δὲ δίδου χάριν. οὐκέτι
 δηρὸν
 ἔξεις Κυπρογενοῦς δῶρον ἰοστεφάνου.

1305—1310

Θυμῷ γνοῦς ὅτι παιδείας πολυηράτου ἄνθος
 ὠκύτερον σταδίου, τοῦτο συνεῖς χάλασον
 δεσμοῦ, μήποτε καὶ σὺ βιήσῃαι, ὄβριμε παίδων,
 Κυπρογενοῦς δ' ἔργων ἀντιάσεις χαλεπῶν, 1308
 ὥσπερ ἐγὼ νῦν ὦδ' ⁴ ἐπὶ σοί. σὺ δὲ ταῦτα
 φύλαξαι,
 μηδέ σε νικῆσῃ παιδ' ἀδαῇ ⁵ κακότης.

¹ Bek A -αις ² Herm A σησοιγη ³ Bek A -γοις
⁴ Bek B οἶδ'. A ο·δ' ⁵ B A παιδαιδη

THEOGNIS

1295-1298

I would not have thee stir my heart in evil pains,¹ lad, nor that my friendship for thee should carry me away unto the house of Persephone; nay, have thou respect unto the wrath of God and the report of man, for thou hast thought to do foolishly

1299-1304

How long wilt thou fly me, lad? O how hotfoot do I pursue thee! Heaven grant some end may come to thy anger.² Yet thou fleest me in the greed and haughtiness of thy heart, and thy ways are the cruel ways of a kite O stay and grant me thy favour, not for long now wilt thou possess the gift of the violet-crownèd Cyprus-born

1305-1310

Knowing in thy heart that the flowering-time of sweet delightful childhood is fleeter than a footrace, free me from my bonds, lest ever thou be thyself put under restraint, thou mighty among lads,³ and be confronted with the harsh works of the Cyprus-born even as I am, here and now,⁴ for thee. Beware then thou, lest badness overwhelm thy childish ignorance

¹ cf *Il* 24 568· i.e. drive me to despair ² this meaning of *ἀργή* is prob. later than T ³ mock-heroic, on the analogy of *δβριμονάτρη* (Williams) ⁴ *lit* now as it is (but reading doubtful)

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

1311–1318

Οὐ μ' ἔλαθες κλέψας, ὦ παῖ· καὶ γάρ σε
διώμμαι¹

τούτοις οἷσπερ νῦν ἄρθμιος ἦδὲ φίλος²
ἔπλεν, ἐμὴν δὲ μεθῆκας ἀτίμητον φιλότητα—
οὐ μὲν δὴ τούτοις γ' ἦσθα φίλος πρότερον, 1314
ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐκ πάντων σ' ἐδόκουν θήσεσθαι³ ἐταῖρον
πιστόν· καὶ δὴ νῦν ἄλλον ἔχεισθα⁴ φίλον.
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν εὖ ἔρδων κείμει· σέ δὲ μήτις ἀπάντων
ἀνθρώπων ἐσορῶν παιδοφιλεῖν⁵ ἐθέλοι.

1318A–1318B

ᾧ μοι ἐγὼ δειλός· καὶ δὴ κατάχαρμα μὲν
ἐχθροῖς
τοῖς δὲ φίλοισι⁶ πόνος δεινὰ παθὼν γενόμην.

1319–1322

ᾧ παῖ, ἐπεὶ τοι δῶκε θεὰ χάριν ἱμερόεσσαν
Κύπρις, σὸν δ' εἶδος πᾶσι νέοισι⁷ μέλει,
τῶνδ' ἐπάκουσον ἐπῶν καὶ ἐμὴν χάριν ἔνθεο
θυμῷ,
γνοὺς ἔρον ὥς χαλεπὸς⁸ γίνεται ἀνδρὶ φέρειν.

1323–1326

Κυπρογένη,⁹ παῦσόν με πόνων, σκέδασον δὲ
μερίμνας
θυμοβόρους, στρέψον δ' αὖθις ἐς εὐφροσύνας,
μερμήρας δ' ἀπόπαυε κακὰς, δὸς δ' εὐφρόνι θυμῷ
μέτρ' ἥβης τελέσαντ' ἔργατα σωφροσύνης.¹⁰

¹ Herm A διώμμαι ² Bek: A -οις ³ Seid: A
σῆσεσθαι B ἔσσεσθαι ⁴ Bek: A -οισθα ⁵ Bek: A παῖδα
φιλεῖν ⁶ so 1108 A τοῖσι φίλοις δὲ ⁷ Bek A πασι-

THEOGNIS

1311-1318

I know well enough thou didst cheat me, lad;
for I can e'en see through thee. Those with whom
thou art now so close and friendly, abandoning for
worthless thy friendship for me, with them thou
wast not friends before; whereas I, I thought to
make thee of all my comrades the truest, and now
thou hast another to thy friend. I that did well by
thee lie neglected; I would that no man living who
shall see thee may be willing to set his love on
thee.

1318A-1318B

O miserable me! become I am a joy unto mine
enemies and a vexation to my friends because of my
sufferings.¹

1319-1322

Seeing that great Cypris hath given thee so
delightful grace, lad, and all the young are concerned
for thy beauty, give ear to these words and cherish
favour of me in thy heart, knowing how hard a thing
love is for a man to bear.

1323-1326

O Cyprus-born, end Thou my woes, scatter my
carking cares, turn me again unto good cheer,
make cease my evil imaginings, and grant me to
accomplish the works of wisdom when I have fulfilled
merrily the measure of Youth.

¹ [= 1107-8]

νεοῖσι ⁸ B A ἔρος ὥς χαλεπὸν
¹⁰ SC τελέσαι

⁹ Passow Κυπρογόνη

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

1327-1328

ᾠ παῖ, ἕως ἂν ἔχῃς λείαν γένυν, οὐποτε σαίνων
παύσομαι, οὐδ' εἴ μοι μόρσιμόν ἐστι θανείν.

1329-1334

Σοί τε διδόντι τι¹ καλὸν ἐμοί τ' οὐκ αἰσχρὸν
ἐρῶντι
αἰτεῖν. ἀλλὰ γονέων λίσσομαι ἡμετέρων,
αἰδέο μ', ὦ παῖ <καλὲ>,² διδοὺς χάριν, ἥ-εἴ³ ποτε
καὶ σὺ 1331
ἥξεις⁴ Κυπρογενοῦς δῶρον ἰοστεφάνου
χρηίζων, καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλον ἐλεύσεται, ἀλλά σε δαίμων
δοίῃ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀντιτυχεῖν ἐπέων

1335-1336

ᾠλβιος, ὅστις ἐρῶν γυμνάζεται οἴκαδε <δ>⁵
ἐλθὼν
εὐδαι⁶ σὺν καλῷ παιδὶ πανημέριος.

1337-1340

Οὐκέτ' ἐρῶ παιδός, χαλεπὰς δ' ἀπελάκτισ' ἀνίας,
μοχθούς τ' ἀργαλέους ἄσμενος ἐξέφυγον,
ἐκλέλυμαι δὲ πόθου πρὸς εὐστεφάνου Κυθερείης·
σοὶ δ', ὦ παῖ, χάρις ἔστ' οὐδεμία πρὸς ἐμοῦ.

1341-1344

Αἰαῖ, παιδὸς ἐρῶ ἀπαλόχροος, ὅς με φίλοισιν
πᾶσι μάλ' ἐκφαίνει κοῦκ ἐθέλοντος ἐμοῦ
τλήσομαι οὐ κρύψας ἀεκούσια πολλὰ βίαια·
οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' αἰκελίῳ παιδὶ δαμείς⁷ ἐφάνην.

¹ Will A διδόντ' ἔτι

² B

³ F, cf 931: A χάριν εἰ

⁴ Couat A ξξ from 1304

⁵ Bek.

⁶ Bek: A -ειν

⁷ Herw. μανείς, perh rightly

THEOGNIS

1327-1328

My lad, so long as thy cheek be smooth I will
never cease to pay my court, no, not if I have to die.

1329-1334

To thee that grantest it my suit bringeth honour,
and to me that desire it no disgrace; I beseech thee,
by my parents, fair lad, have respect unto me and
grant me favour; or if ever thou in thy turn shalt
come to another to crave the gift of the violet-
crownèd Cyprus-born, God grant thou meet with the
same words that I meet with now.

1335-1336

Happy he that loveth as he taketh his practice¹
and when he goeth home sleepeth the day out with a
fair lad

1337-1340

I no longer love a lad; I have shaken off sore
troubles and gladly 'scaped grievous distress; I am
delivered of my longing by the wreathèd Cytherea,
and thou, lad, hast no favour² in my eyes.

1341-1344

Woe 's me! I love a smooth-skinned lad who
exposeth me to all my friends, nor am I loath; I
will bear with many things that are sore against my
liking, and make it no secret; for 'tis no unhandsome
lad I am seen to be taken with

¹ in wresting and the like

² or charm

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

1345-1350

Παιδοφιλεῖν δέ τι¹ τερπνόν, ἐπεὶ ποτε καὶ
 Γανυμήδους
 ἠράσατο² Κρονίδης ἀθανάτων βασιλεύς,
 ἀρπάξας δ' ἐς Ὀλυμπον ἀνήγαγε, καί μιν ἔθηκε
 δαίμονα παιδείης ἄνθος ἔχοντ' ἐρατόν. 1348
 οὔτω μὴ θαύμαζε, Σιμωνίδη, οὔνεκα κἀγὼ
 ἐξεφάνην³ καλοῦ παιδὸς ἔρωτι δαμεῖς.

1351-1352

ὦ παῖ, μὴ κώμαζε, γέροντι δὲ πείθεο μύθῳ.⁴
 οὔτοι κωμάζειν σύμφορον ἀνδρὶ νέῳ

1353-1356

Πικρὸς καὶ γλυκὺς ἐστὶ καὶ ἀρπαλέος καὶ ἀπηνής,
 ὄφρα τέλειος ἔη, Κύρνε, νέοισιν ἔρωσ.
 ἦν γάρ τις⁵ τελέση, γλυκὺ γίνεταί· ἦν δὲ διώκων
 μὴ τελέση, πάντων τοῦτ' ἀνηρότατον.

1357-1358

Αἰεὶ παιδοφίλῃσιν ἐπὶ ζυγὸν αὐχένι κεῖται
 δύσλοφον,⁶ ἀργαλέον μνήμα φιλοξενίης.

1359-1360

Χρὴ γάρ τοι περὶ παῖδα πονούμενον εἰς φιλότητα
 ὥσπερ κληματίνφ χειρὰ πυρὶ προσάγειν.

¹ Bek: A δ' ἔτι ² Heimsoeth: A ἤρατο καὶ ³ B, cf 1342, 1344 · mss ἐξεδάμην ⁴ Kaib A ἀνδρί ⁵ E (τὸς is required, and μὲν is frequently omitted in T) A ἦν μὲν γὰρ
⁶ Ahr A·μορον

THEOGNIS

1345-1350

A pleasant thing hath lad's-love ever been since Ganymede was loved of the great Son of Cronus, the king of the Immortals, who seized and brought him to Olympus and made him a God,¹ what time his boyhood was in its lovely flower. In like manner, Simonides, be not thou astonished that 'tis come out that I too am taken with the love of a fair lad.²

1351-1352

Lad, revel not, but give thou heed to the ancient saw.—Revelling is not proper to ³ a young man.

1353-1356

Bitter and sweet, kindly also and harsh, Cyrrus,⁴ is love unto the young till it be fulfilled; for if a man achieve, it becometh sweet, and if he pursue and achieve not, that is of all things the most painful.

1357-1358

On the neck of the lad-lover there ever sitteth a galling⁵ yoke that is a grievous memorial of love-of-strangers.⁶

1359-1360

For he that is concerned with a lad for friendship's sake must surely put his hands as it were to a fire of vine-loppings⁷

¹ or spirit ² prob by EUENUS, cf 467, 667, to which it is linked by the person addressed, by the use of οὔνεκα, and by metrical considerations ³ or good for ⁴ [cf 301]

⁵ or, without emending the Gk, fateful, but cf 1024 ⁶ or love-of-hospitality ⁷ i.e. something highly inflammable

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

1361-1362

Ναῦς πέτρῃ προσέκυρσας ἐμῆς φιλότῃτος ἁμαρτῶν,
ὦ παῖ, καὶ σαπροῦ πείσματος ἀντελάβου.

1363-1364

Οὐδαμά σ' οὐδ' ἀπεὼν δηλήσομαι, οὐδέ με πείσει
οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων ὡς σύ με μὴ σε¹ φιλεῖν.

1365-1366

᾽Ω παίδων κάλλιστε καὶ ἡμεροέστατε πάντων,
στῆθ' αὐτοῦ καί μου παῦρ' ἐπάκουσον ἔπη.

1367-1368

Παιδός τοι χάρις ἐστί, γυναικὶ δὲ πίστις ἐταίρῃ
οὐδεμί,² ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τὸν παρέοντα φιλεῖ.

1369-1372

Παιδὸς ἔρως καλὸς μὲν ἔχειν, καλὸς δ' ἀποθέσθαι.
πολλὸν δ' εὐρέσθαι ῥήτερον ἢ τελέσαι.
μυρία δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ κρέματα κακά, μυρία δ' ἐσθλά.
ἀλλὰ ταλαντεῖη³ καί τις ἔνεστι χάρις.

1373-1374

Οὐδαμά πω κατέμεινας ἐμὴν χάριν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ
πᾶσαν
αἰεὶ σπουδαίως⁴ ἔρχεται ἀγγελίην.

¹ E A ὥστε μεμνησε ² Herw -E A πιστὸς ἐταῖρος | οὐδεὶς
³ van der Mey, cf Spalding's em of *τανταλεία* Plat *Crat* 395e
A ἀλλ' ἔν τοι ταύτῃ (corr of hapl αλλαντεῖη) ⁴ Herw A ἡν

¹ καί, as often, joins two ideas conceived of as contemporary, *not* and then ² by treating me thus ³ the first three words are inscribed as the words of a bearded man reclining

THEOGNIS

1361-1362

Thou hast failed to make harbour in my friendship,
lad, and laying hold of a rotten hawser¹ hast
struck upon a rock.

1363-1364

Never will I do thee harm even in absence, nor
shall any man living persuade me, as thou art fain to
persuade me,² not to love thee.

1365-1366

O fairest and most desirable of all lads, stand where
thou art and give ear to a few words of mine³

1367-1368

Gratitude belongeth, 'tis sure, to a lad; but a
woman-comrade is never true;⁴ she loveth him that
is present unto her

1369-1372

Lad's love is a fine thing to have and a fine thing to
put away; 'tis easier to find than to satisfy; ten
thousand are the evil things and ten thousand the
good that hang upon it; but there's e'en a charm
in the wavering of the balance

1373-1374

Never hast thou delayed me thy favours, but
comest always at every message with all speed⁵

on a couch, leaning on his left elbow with his right arm hanging
down to feed a rabbit on the floor, on an Attic vase of c. 480 B.C.
Mitt d. Ath. Inst. ix pl. 1 ⁴ i.e. a lasting friend ⁵ the
omission of 'from others' is fatal to Williams' interpretation
'You have never stayed for my sake, but you slip off at
every eager message you receive from others'

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

1375-1376

*Ολβιος, ὅστις παιδὸς ἐρῶν οὐκ οἶδε θάλασσαν,
οὐδέ οἱ ἐν πόντῳ νύξ ἐπιούσα μέλει.

1377-1380

Καλὸς ἐὼν κακότητι φρενῶν¹ δειλοῖσιν ὁμιλεῖς
ἀνδράσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' αἰσχρὸν ὄνειδος ἔχεις,
ὦ παῖ· ἐγὼ δ' ἀέκων τῆς σῆς φιλότητος ἀμαρτῶν
ὠνήμην ἔρδων οἶά τ' ἐλεύθερος ὢν.

1381-1382

*Ανθρωφ', οἷ² σ' ἐδόκουν χρυσῆς παρὰ δῶρον
ἔχοντα
ἐλθεῖν Κυπρογενοῦς³

1383-1385

. . . . δῶρον ἰοστεφάνου
γίνεται ἀνθρώποισιν ἔχειν χαλεπώτατον ἄχθος,
ἀν⁴ μὴ Κυπρογενῆς δῶ λύσιν ἐκ χαλεπῶν.

1386-1389

Κυπρογενὲς Κυθήρεια δολοπλόκε, σοί τι περισσὸν
Ζεὺς τότε τιμήσας δῶρον ἔδωκεν ἔχειν·
δαμνᾶς⁵ ἀνθρώπων πυκινὰς φρένας, οὐδέ τίς ἐστιν
οὕτως ἰφθιμος καὶ σοφὸς ὥστε φυγεῖν.

¹ Haupt A φιμον ² E, cf. 595. A ἀνθρώποις ³ no
break in ms ⁴ A αν Schn. ην ⁵ Hart A inserts δ'

THEOGNIS

1375-1376

Happy is he that loving a lad knoweth not the sea
nor hath concern with the night's coming upon the
deep.

1377-1380

Though fair thou be, thou consortest, through the
badness of thy mind, with men of the baser sort, and
for this, lad, thou bearest foul reproach. And I that
have failed, through no fault of my own, to win thy
friendship, have the satisfaction of doing what is
expected of a freeman like me.¹

1381-1382

Those that expected thee, man, to come to bestow
the gift of the golden Cyprus-born . . .²

1383-1385

. . .² the gift of the violet-crownèd . . . be-
cometh a most grievous burden unto man, unless the
Cyprus-born grant deliverance from trouble.

1386-1388

Cyprus-born Cytherea, weaver of wiles, Zeus hath
given Thee this gift because He honoureth Thee
exceeding much³—Thou overwhelmest the shrewd
wits of men, nor lives the man so strong and wise
that he may escape Thee

¹ *oîa τε* = Attic *oîa*, elliptic, *lit* as I should (*or* is natural to me) being a freeman ² no break in the ms ³ *or* (*accenting τῷ*) as a question Why did Zeus honour Thee so exceeding much as to give Thee this gift? (in either case the 2nd couplet is explanatory of *τόδε*)

ΙΠΠΑΡΧΟΤ

Βίος

Marm Par 59 (45) ἀφ' οὗ Ἀρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων ἀπέκτειναν Ἰππαρχον Πεισιτράτου διάδοχον καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐξανέστησαν τοὺς Πεισιστρατίδας ἐκ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ τείχους ΗΗΔΔΔΔΓΙΙΙ, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Ἀρπακτίδου.

Arist Ἀθ Πολ. 18 ἦσαν δὲ κύριοι μὲν τῶν πραγμάτων διὰ τὰ ἀξιώματα καὶ διὰ τὰς ἡλικίας Ἰππαρχος καὶ Ἰππίας, πρεσβύτερος δὲ ὢν ὁ Ἰππίας καὶ τῇ φύσει πολιτικός καὶ ἔμφρων ἐπεστάτει τῆς ἀρχῆς. ὁ δὲ Ἰππαρχος παιδιώδης καὶ ἐρωτικός καὶ φιλόμουσος ἦν, καὶ τοὺς περὶ Ἀνακρέοντα καὶ Σιμωνίδην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποιητὰς οὗτος ἦν ὁ μεταπεμπόμενος, Θετταλὸς δὲ νεώτερος πολὺ καὶ τῷ βίῳ θρασὺς καὶ ὑβριστής, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ συνέβη τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι πάντων τῶν κακῶν. ἐρασθεῖς γὰρ τοῦ Ἀρμοδίου καὶ διαμαρτάνων τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίας, οὐ κατεῖχε τὴν ὀργήν, ἀλλ' ἐν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐνεσημαίνετο πικρῶς, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον μέλλουσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀδελφὴν κανηφορεῖν Παναθηναίοις ἐκώλυσεν, λοιδορήσας τι τὸν Ἀρμόδιον ὡς μαλακὸν ὄντα, ὅθεν συνέβη παροξυνθέντα τὸν Ἀρμόδιον καὶ τὸν Ἀριστο-

HIPPARCHUS

LIFE

Parian Chronicle From the time when Harmodius and Aristogeiton slew Hipparchus the successor of Peisistratus, and the Athenians expelled the Peisistratids from the Pelasgic Wall, in the archonship of Harpactides at Athens, 248 years (511 B C)

Aristotle *Constitution of Athens*. The supreme power, by reason of character and age, lay in the hands of Hippias and Hipparchus (rather than of their half-brothers), of whom Hippias, being not only the elder but having a bent for politics and a natural shrewdness, held the reins of government Hipparchus on the other hand lacked seriousness. He was of an amorous disposition and an aesthete. It was he who sent to fetch Anacreon and Simonides and the other poets to Athens. Thettalus, who was much younger, was a self-confident bully, and this was the cause of all their trouble. Becoming the lover of Harmodius and failing to win his friendship, he put no restraint upon his anger but gave frequent expression to his resentment, and finally when the sister of his beloved was going to carry a sacred basket in the Panathenaic Festival he prevented her doing so and called Harmodius a weakling; which incensed Harmodius

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

γείτονα πράττειν τὴν πράξιν μετέχοντων πολλῶν. ἤδη δὲ παρατηροῦντες ἐν ἀκροπόλει τοῖς Παναθηναίοις Ἰππίαν (ἐτύγχανεν γὰρ οὗτος μὲν δεχόμενος, ὁ δ' Ἰππαρχος ἀποστέλλων τὴν πομπήν), ἰδόντες τινὰ τῶν κοινωνούντων τῆς πράξεως φιλανθρώπως ἐντυγχάνοντα τῷ Ἰππία, καὶ νομίσαντες μηνύειν, βουλόμενοί τι δρᾶσαι πρὸ τῆς συλλήψεως, καταβάντες καὶ προεξαστάντες τῶν ἄλλων, τὸν μὲν Ἰππαρχον διακοσμοῦντα τὴν πομπήν παρὰ τὸ Λεωκόρειον ἀπεκτείναν, τὴν δ' ὅλην ἐλυμήναντο πράξιν, αὐτῶν δ' ὁ μὲν Ἀρμόδιος εὐθέως ἐτελεύτησεν ὑπὸ τῶν δορυφόρων, ὁ δ' Ἀριστογείτων ὕστερον συλληφθεὶς καὶ πολλὸν χρόνον αἰκισθεὶς.

Simon. 160

Ἡ μέγ' Ἀθηναίοισι φόως γένεθ' ἡνίκ' Ἀριστογείτων Ἰππαρχον κτεῖνε καὶ Ἀρμόδιος.

Suid τὸ Ἰππάρχου τειχίον· Ἰππαρχος ὁ Πεισιστράτου περὶ τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν τείχος ὠκοδόμησε, πολλὰ ἀναγκάσας ἀναλῶσαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ὅθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δαπανηρῶν πραγμάτων ἡ παροιμία εἴρηται.

Ibid τρικέφαλος· ὁ Ἑρμῆς, ὥσπερ διδάσκων τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ ἔχων ὑπογραφὴν, ποῦ μὲν αὕτη φέρει ἡ ὁδός, ποῦ δὲ ἐκείνη ἴσως δὲ πρὸς ἐκάστην ὁδὸν κεφαλὴν εἶχεν. ἔστι δὲ ὁ ἀναθεὶς τὸν τρικέφαλον Ἑρμῆν, ὡς Φιλόχορος φησι, Προκλείδης Ἰππάρχου ἐραστῆς . . .

LIFE OF HIPPARCHUS

and Aristogeiton and prompted them and many others with them to hatch the plot. On the day of the festival they were lying in wait in the Acropolis for Hippias, who was to receive the procession while Hipparchus was to dispatch it, when, seeing one of the conspirators in friendly converse with Hippias, they jumped to it he was revealing the plot, and in order to do at least something before they were taken, went down into the city, and starting before the others were ready, slew Hipparchus in the act of marshalling the procession before the Leocorium, thus bringing the whole plot to ruin; and were themselves killed, Harmodius by the bodyguard on the spot, and Aristogeiton when he was seized later and had undergone some hours of torture.

Simonides *Inscription for the Statues of the Tyrannicides*:

A marvellous great light shone upon Athens when Aristogeiton and Harmodius slew Hipparchus.

Suidas *Lexicon*. The Wall of Hipparchus:—Hipparchus son of Peisistratus built a wall round the Academy at great expense to the Athenians, whom he forced to pay for it. Hence the proverb is used of costly undertakings

The Same: Three-headed —The herm or bust of Hermes, pointing the way, so to speak, and bearing an inscription beneath it to say where this road leads and where that. It may have had a head for each direction. The three-headed herm was set up, according to Philochorus, by Procleides the lover of Hipparchus

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

Sch. Dem. 20. 112 [ἐν τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς]. ξύλα ἢ λίθοι τετράγωνοι ἦσαν ἔχοντες ὄψιν Ἑρμοῦ ἐπάνω, κάτω δὲ ἐν τῷ πλάτει τὰ ἐπιγράμματα.

ΙΠΠΑΡΧΟΥ

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ

1, 2

[Plat] *Hippiarch.* 228 c ἐπειδὴ δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ περὶ τὸ ἄστυ τῶν πολιτῶν πεπαιδευμένοι ἦσαν καὶ ἐθαύμαζον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ, ἐπιβουλεύων αὐ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς παιδεῦσαι ἔστησεν αὐτοῖς Ἑρμᾶς κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τῶν δῆμων ἐκάστων, κάπειτα τῆς σοφίας τῆς αὐτοῦ, ἣν τ' ἔμαθεν καὶ ἦν αὐτὸς ἐξηῦρεν, ἐκλεξάμενος δ' ἡγείτο σοφώτατα εἶναι, ταῦτα αὐτὸς ἐντείννας εἰς ἐλεγείον αὐτοῦ ποιήματα καὶ ἐπιδείγματα τῆς σοφίας ἐπέγραψεν, ἵνα πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ἐν Δελφοῖς γράμματα τὰ σοφὰ ταῦτα μὴ θαυμάζοιεν οἱ πολῖται αὐτοῦ, τό τε Γνώθι σαυτόν καὶ τὸ Μῆδ' ἐν ἄγαν καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀλλὰ τὰ Ἰππάρχου ῥήματα μάλλον σοφὰ ἡγοῖντο, ἔπειτα παριόντες ἄνω καὶ κάτω καὶ ἀναγιγνώσκοντες καὶ γεῦμα λαμβάνοντες αὐτοῦ τῆς σοφίας φοιτᾶεν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ παιδευθησόμενοι ἐστὼν δὲ δύο τῶπιγράμματα ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἐπ' ἀρίστερα τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἐκάστου ἐπιγέγραπται λέγων ὁ Ἑρμῆς ὅτι ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τοῦ δήμου ἔστηκεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ

Μνῆμα τόδ' Ἰππάρχου· στεῦχε δίκαια φρονῶν·

φησὶν ἔστι δὲ τῶν ποιημάτων καὶ ἄλλα ἐν ἄλλοις Ἑρμαῖς πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἐπιγεγραμμένα ἔστι δὲ δὴ καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῇ Στειριακῇ ὁδῷ, ἐν ᾧ λέγει

Μνῆμα τόδ' Ἰππάρχου· μὴ φίλον ἐξαπάτα.

¹ the Greeks in such a case said *left* where we say *right*, and vice-versa ² apparently an imitation of Phocylides

HIPPARCHUS

Scholiast on Demosthenes [‘in the Colonnade of the Hermae’]. These were four-sided posts or stones bearing a face of Hermes above, and below on the flat part the inscriptions

See also Diod Sic 10. 17, Hdt. 7 6, Arist *Rhet* 1367b, Greg Cypr 3 81, Apost 17 8

HIPPARCHUS

INSCRIPTIONS

1, 2

[Plato] *Hipparchus* Now that the city-part of the Athenians were educated by him till they admired his learning and wisdom, in order to confer the same benefit on the country-folk, he set up effigies of Hermes on the roads halfway between the city and every deme or parish of Attica, and choosing what appeared to him the finest fruits of his wisdom whether learnt of others or invented by himself, put each into an elegiac line, and inscribed these verses, or, if you will, exhibitions of his wisdom, on the aforesaid effigies, with the intent that his fellow-townsmen should shift their admiration from those maxims inscribed at Delphi, *Know thyself* and *Moderation in all things* and the rest, and giving the palm for wisdom to the sayings of Hipparchus, should read them and taste his wisdom as they passed on their way to their farms or their homes, and so in the end become educated men The inscriptions in each case are two On the right¹ side of each effigy Hermes is depicted saying that he stands halfway between the city and the deme, and on the left

This is a reminder of Hipparchus².—As thou walkest think righteous things.

There are many other fine poems of his inscribed on other effigies of Hermes, notably this, which may be read on the way to Steiria

This is a reminder of Hipparchus —Deceive not a friend

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

3

Corp. Inscr. Att 1. 522

Ἐν μέσ<σ>φ Κεφαλῆς τε καὶ ἄστεος, ἀνερ,
ὄδ' Ἑρμῆς.¹

¹ so Kirchhoff from Fouimont's transcr (which has *οθ* for *ὄδ'*)

HIPPARCHUS

3

Inscriptions of Attica (in lettering of the period) ¹

This Hermes is halfway, good sir, between Cephale²
and the city

¹ ascription probable; this may well be one of the inscriptions on the right (*see Plato above*) ² this name, suggested by Kirchhoff, involves a likely emendation of Fourmont's transcript, the stone is now lost

ΠΙΓΡΗΤΟΣ

Suid Πίγρης Κἄρ ἀπὸ Ἀλικαρνασοῦ, ἀδελφὸς Ἀρτεμισίας
τῆς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις διαφανοῦς, Μαυσώλου γυναικὸς ὃς τῇ
Ἰλιάδι παρενέβαλε κατὰ στίχον ἐλεγείον, οὕτω γράψας

Μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος,
Μοῦσα, σὺ γὰρ πάσης πείρατ' ἔχεις σοφίης.

ἔγραψε καὶ τὸν εἰς Ὅμηρον ἀναφερόμενον Μαργίτην καὶ Βατρα-
χομυομαχίαν

Plut. *Hdt Mal* 43 τὰ δ' ἐν Σαλαμῖνι διηγούμενος τοσούτους
περὶ Ἀρτεμισίας λόγους γέγραφεν, ὅσοις ὅλην τὴν ναυμαχίαν οὐκ ἀπ-
ήγγελλε τέλος δέ, καθημένους ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ἀγνοῆσαι μέχρι τέλους
τὸν ἀγῶνα τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὥσπερ βατραχομυομαχίας γινομένης,
ἦν Πίγρης ὁ Ἀρτεμισίας ἐν ἔπεσι παίζων καὶ φλυαρῶν ἔγραψε,
σιωπῇ διαγωνίσασθαι συνθεμένων, ἵνα λάθωσι τοὺς ἄλλους, αὐτοὺς
δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀνδρεῖα μὲν οὐδὲν κρείττονας γενέσθαι τῶν
βαρβάρων, ἀνόπλοις δὲ καὶ γυμνοῖς μαχομένους κρατῆσαι

PIGRES

Suidas *Lexicon* Pigres.—A Carian of Halicarnassus, brother of the Artemisia who was so famous in the wars¹ He inserted an elegiac (pentameter) after each line of the *Iliad*, thus.

Sing thou the wrath, O Goddess, of Peleus' offspring Achilles,
Thine are the bounds which hold, Muse, all the ends of our art

He also wrote the *Margites* and the *Battle of Frogs and Mice*, attributed to Homer.

Plutarch *The Malignity of Herodotus* In his account of the battle of Salamis he spends more words upon Artemisia than he does on the whole battle, and lastly at Plataea he says that the Greeks sat still, and knew no more of the fight till it was over than if it had been a battle of frogs and mice like that described in a burlesque poem by Artemisia's brother Pigres, for they had agreed, he says, to fight in silence lest the others should hear them, and he makes the Spartans show themselves no better than the Barbarians in valour, but win a victory over naked and unarmed men

¹ the mss add 'wife of Mausolus,' which cannot be right

ΕΠΙΧΑΡΜΟΥ

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ

Suid Ἐπίχαρμος Τιτύρου ἢ Χιμάρου καὶ Σηκίδος, Συρακούσιος, ἢ ἐκ πόλεως Κράστου τῶν Σικανῶν ὃς εἶρε τὴν κωμῳδίαν ἐν Συρακούσιαις ἅμα Φόρμῳ ἐδίδαξε δὲ δράματα νβ' . . . ἦν δὲ πρὸ τῶν Περσικῶν ἔτη ἐξ διδάσκων ἐν Συρακούσαις

Plat *Theaet.* 152d ἔστι μὲν γὰρ οὐδέποτε οὐδέν, αἰὲ δὲ γίγνεται καὶ περὶ τούτου πάντες ἐξῆς οἱ σοφοὶ πλὴν Παρμενίδου συμφερέσθων, Πρωταγόρας τε καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ ἄκροι τῆς ποιήσεως ἑκατέρως, κωμῳδίας μὲν Ἐπίχαρμος, τραγῳδίας δὲ Ὀμηρος

Sch. *Il.* 22 414 [πάντας δ' ἐλλιτάνευε κυλινδόμενος κατὰ κόπρον] (α') κατὰ κόπρον ἀντὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν συρφετὸν τῆς γῆς (β') κόπρον τὰ κόπρις. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα, ὃ εἰς Ἐπίχαρμον ἀναφέρεται·

Εἰμὶ νεκρός· νεκρὸς δὲ κόπρος, γῇ δ' ἡ
κόπρος ἐστίν·
εἰ δ' ἡ γῇ θεός ἐστ', οὐ νεκρός, ἀλλὰ θεός.¹

¹ The Pseud-Epicharmian Iambic and Trochaic fragments, many of which doubtless fall within the scope of this book, cannot well be separated from the genuine citations which, coming in all probability from E's comedies, do not; see Kaibel *Com Gr Frag* 1, and Diels *Vorsokratiker* 1 p 115 ff.

EPICHARMUS

INSCRIPTION

Suidas *Lexicon* · Epicharmus —Son of Tityrus, or Chimaros, and Secis, of Syracuse, or of Crastus a city of the Sicanians, inventor, along with Phormus,¹ of comedy at Syracuse. He produced fifty-two plays. . . He was staging dramas at Syracuse six years before the Persian War.

Plato *Theaetetus* For nothing ever is, but is always becoming. And all the wise, one after another, except Parmenides, shall agree in this, Protagoras, Heraclitus, Empedocles, and the greatest poets in either kind, Epicharmus in comedy, Homer in tragedy.

Scholast on the *Iliad* ['He besought them all, casting himself down in the dirt'] (1) That is, in the rubbish on the ground; (2) That is, in the dung-heap; and what is more, there is an inscription attributed to Epicharmus which says

I am a corpse and a corpse is dirt, and dirt earth;
but if the earth is a God, a God am I and not a corpse.²

For the Elegiac Poems ascribed to BACCHYLIDES see *Lyra Graeca* iii p 220.

¹ called Phormis by Arist. *Poet* 1449b 5
spurious

² prob.

ΦΡΥΝΙΧΟΥ

ΕΛΕΓΕΙΩΝ

Suid Φρύνιχος Πολυφράδμονος ἢ Μινύρου . Ἀθηναῖος, τραγικός, μαθητὴς Θέσπιδος, τοῦ πρώτου τὴν τραγικὴν εἰσενέγκαντος ἐνίκᾳ τοῖνυν ἐπὶ τῆς ξζ' Ὀλυμπιάδος οὗτος δὲ πρῶτος ὁ Φρύνιχος γυναικεῖον πρόσωπον εἰσήγαγεν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ, καὶ εὐρετὴς τοῦ τετραμέτρου ἐγένετο τραγωδίαι δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰσιν ἑννέα αὐταὶ κτλ.

ΑΙ ΑΥ 744 ΑΗΔΩΝ

Μοῦσα λοχμαία,
τιδ τιδ τιδ τιδ τιδ τιοτίξ,
ποικίλῃ, μεθ' ἧς ἐγὼ
νάπαισι καὶ κορυφαῖς ἐν ὀρείαις,
τιδ τιδ τιδ τιοτίξ,
ἰζόμενος μελίας ἐπὶ φυλλοκόμου,
τιδ τιδ τιδ τιοτίξ,
δι' ἐμῆς γένυος ξουθῆς μελέων
Πανὶ νόμους ἱεροὺς ἀναφαίνω
σεμνά τε Μητρὶ χορεύματ' ὀρεῖα
τοτοτοτοτοτοτοτοτοτίξ,
ἔνθεν ὥσπερὶ μέλιττα
Φρύνιχος ἀμβροσίων μελέων ἀπεβόσκετο καρπὸν,
ἅει φέρων γλυκεῖαν ῥόδαν
τιδ τιδ τιδ τιοτίξ

Plut Q Conu 8 9 3 καὶ Φρύνιχος ὁ τῶν τραγωδιῶν ποιητὴς περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν ὅτι

σχήματα δ' ὄρχησις τόσα μοι πόρεν, ὅσας ἐνὶ πόντῳ
κύματα ποιεῖται χεῖματι νύξ ὅλοή.

PHRYNICHUS

ELEGIAC POEMS

Suidas *Lexicon* Phrynichus.—Son of Polyphradmon or of Minyrus; of Athens, writer of tragedy, a pupil of Thespis the first to introduce that art. He was victorious in the 67th Olympiad (510–7 B C). This Phrynichus was the first to bring a female character upon the stage, and invented the tetrameter. His tragedies are these nine, etc.

Aristophanes *Birds*. NIGHTINGALE

Hail, motley Muse of green and glade,
 Jug, jug, tereu,
Who, as on leafy ash I sit
By hill or dale to music it,
 Tereu, tereu, dost lend thine aid,
While through my brown beak I recite
Sacred songs for Pan's delight,
And to the Mountain-Mother bring
High dance-music for offering,
 Tereu, tereu,
Whence Phrynichus sipt like a bee,
 Ambrosial brew,
A harvest of sweet melody,
 Jug, jug, tereu

Plutarch *Dinner-Table Problems* Yet Phrynichus the tragedy-writer says of himself

The art of the dance hath given me as many different steps as a night deadly with storms maketh waves upon the sea.

ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ

Βίος

Vit. Aesch 1 Αἰσχύλος ὁ τραγικὸς γένει μὲν ἔστιν Ἀθηναῖος, Ἐλευσίνιος τῶν δῆμων, υἱὸς Εὐφορίωνος, Κυνεγείρου ἀδελφός, ἐξ εὐπατριδῶν τὴν φύσιν· νέος δὲ ἤρξατο τῶν τραγωδιῶν, καὶ πολὺ τοὺς πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ ὑπερῆρε κατὰ τε τὴν ποίησιν καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν τῆς σκηνῆς, τὴν τε λαμπρότητα τῆς χορηγίας, καὶ τὴν σκευὴν τῶν ὑποκριτῶν, τὴν τε τοῦ χοροῦ σεμνότητα, ὥς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης·

ἀλλ' ὦ πρῶτος τῶν Ἑλλήνων πυργώσας
ρήματα σεμνὰ
καὶ κοσμήσας τραγικὸν λῆρον.

συνεχρόνισε δὲ Πινδάρῳ, γεγονῶς κατὰ τὴν ξγ' Ὀλυμπιάδα . . . ἐβίωσε δὲ ἔτη ξθ', ἐν οἷς ἐποίησε δράματα ὅ, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις σατυρικά ἀμφὶ τὰ πέντε· νίκας δὲ τὰς πάσας εἴληφε τρισκαίδεκα, οὐκ ὀλίγας δὲ μετὰ τελευτὴν νίκας ἀπηνέγκατο.

Marm Par. 62 (48) ἀφ' οὗ ἡ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχη ἐγένετο Ἀθηναίοις πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας Ἀρταφέρνην τε τὸν Δαρείου ἀδελφιδοῦν καὶ Δᾶτιν στρατηγόν, ἦν ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι, ἔτη ΗΗΔΔΓΙΙ, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν τοῦ δευτέρου

AESCHYLUS

LIFE

Life of Aeschylus. The tragic poet Aeschylus was by birth an Athenian, of the deme of Eleusis, son of Euphorion and brother of Cynegeirus, by descent a Eupatrid. He began writing his tragedies young, and far surpassed his predecessors in the style of his poetry and in stage-craft, in the splendour of the staging, the dress of the actors, and the dignity of the chorus; compare Aristophanes (*Frogs* 1004):

O first in Greece at the building of lofty rhyme
and the decking-out of tragic gibble-gabble!

He was contemporary with Pindar, his birth falling in the 63rd Olympiad (528-5 B.C.) He lived sixty-nine years, during which he wrote seventy dramas as well as about five satyr-plays. His victories were, in all, thirteen, and some he won after his death.

Parian Chronicle: From the time when the Athenians fought and won the battle of Marathon against the Persians under Artaphernes nephew of Darius and his general Datis, 227 years, in the archonship of the second Phaenippides at Athens;

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

Φαινιππίδου· ἥ ἐν μάχῃ συνηγωνίσατο Αἰσχύλος
ὁ ποιητῆς ἐτῶν ὧν ΔΔΔΓ.

Ibid. 65 (50) ἀφ' οὗ Αἰσχύλος ὁ ποιητῆς
τραγωδία πρῶτον ἐνίκησε . . ἔτη ΗΗΔΔΙΙ, ἄρχον-
τος Ἀθήνησι Φιλοκράτους.

Ibid. 74 (59) ἀφ' οὗ Ἀἰσχύλος ὁ ποιητῆς
βιώσας ἔτη ΞΔΓΙΙΙ ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν Γέλα τῆς
Σικελίας ἔτη ΗΞΔΔΔΔΙΙΙ, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι
Καλλίου τοῦ προτέρου.

ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ

ΕΛΕΓΕΙΩΝ

1 εἰς τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι τεθνηκότας

Plut. Q. Conν. i 10. 3 Γλαυκίας δ' ὁ ῥήτωρ καὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας
Αἰαντίδαις τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι παρατάξεως ἀποδοθῆναι, ταῖς Αἰσχύλου
εἰς τὴν μεθορίαν ἐλεγείαις ¹ πιστούμενος, ἡγωνισμένου τὴν μάχην
ἐκείνην ἐτιφανῶς.

2

Theophr. H P 9. 15 καὶ γὰρ Αἰσχύλος ἐν ταῖς Ἑλεγείαις ὡς
πολυφάρμακον λέγει τὴν Τυρρηνίαν

Τυρρηνῶν γενεάν, φαρμακοποιὸν ἔθνος.

2A

Sch. Aesch. Cho 343 [παιὰν μελάθροισ ἐν βασιλείοις | νεο-
κράτα φίλον κομίζει] . . . νεοκράτα κρατῆρα

νεοκρήτου τ' εἰσεπιλειβομένης

¹ εἰς τὴν μεθ. is either the title or a corruption of it

AESCHYLUS

in which battle the poet Aeschylus took part at the age of thirty-five (490 B.C.).

The same : From the time when the poet Aeschylus first won the victory for tragedy 222 years, in the archonship of Philocrates at Athens (486 B.C.).

The same : From the time when the poet Aeschylus died at the age of sixty-nine at Gela in Sicily 193 years, in the archonship of the first Callias at Athens (456 B.C.).

AESCHYLUS

ELEGIES

1 ON THOSE THAT FELL AT MARATHON

Plutarch *Dinner-Table Problems* [on the Aeantid tribe]: The orator Glaucias declared that the right wing of the line of battle at Marathon was given to this tribe, on the authority of the *Elegy on the Borderland*¹ composed by Aeschylus, who distinguished himself in the battle.

2

Theophrastus *History of Plants* Aeschylus in his *Elegies*, for instance, calls Tyrrhenia a land of many drugs.

The Tyrrhene race, that people of drug-makers²

2A

Scholiast on Aeschylus *Choephoroe* ['the Paean in the royal chambers brings in the dear new-mixed wine']: New-mixed —The bowl, compare

and pouring fresh libations of new-mixed wine³

¹ this title may be corrupt

² cf. Plin. *N.H.* 25. 11

³ cf. *E.M.* 537. 46, 541. 31

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΩΝ

3

Anth. Pal 7 255 Αἰσχύλου εἰς ἑτέρους¹ προμάχους Θεσσαλῶν

Κυανέη καὶ τούσδε μενεγχεάς ὤλεσεν ἄνδρας
Μοῖρα πολύρρηνον πατρίδα ῥυομένους·
ζῶν δὲ φθιμένων πέλεται κλέος, οἷ ποτε γυίοις
τλήμονες Ὅσσαίαν ἀμφιέσαντο κόνιν.

4

Vit Aesch p 120 W ἀποθανόντα δὲ (Αἰσχύλον) Γελῶι πολυτελῶς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασι θάψαντες ἐτίμησαν μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐπιγράψαντες οὕτω Αἰσχύλον κτλ

Ath 14. 627c δμοίως δὲ καὶ Αἰσχύλος τηλικαύτην δόξαν ἔχων διὰ τὴν ποιητικὴν οὐδὲν ἤττον ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου ἐπιγραφῆναι ἠξίωσεν μᾶλλον τὴν ἀνδρείαν ποιήσας·

Αἰσχύλον Εὐφορίωνος Ἀθηναῖον τόδε κεύθει
μνῆμα καταφθίμενον πυροφόροιο Γέλας·²
ἀλκὴν δ' εὐδόκιμον Μαραθῶνιον ἄλσος ἂν εἴποι
καὶ βαθυχαιτήεις Μῆδος ἐπιστάμενος.

5

Plut Fort. Alex 2 2 Ἀλλ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἥσκει μὲν αἰεὶ διὰ τῶν ὕπλων δεινὸς εἶναι καὶ κατὰ τὸν Αἰσχύλον

βριθὺς ὀπλιτοπάλας δάϊος ἀντιπάλους

¹ or ἑταίρους

² this couplet is not in *Ath*

¹ ms adds *On others of the Thessalians who fought in the front line*, but this is prob. taken from l. 4 ² cf *Vit. Aesch.*

AESCHYLUS

INSCRIPTIONS

3

Palatine Anthology Aeschylus . ¹

These staunch warriors also did dark Fate destroy
while they defended their country so rich in flocks;
living is the fame of these dead, who once endured
to clothe themselves in the dust of Ossa ²

4

Life of Aeschylus : When he died, the people of Gela buried him sumptuously among the public monuments, and spared no expense to give him honour, inscribing upon his tomb the following lines 'This Monument,' etc

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner* Similarly Aeschylus, who enjoyed such great fame for his poetry, nevertheless chose rather that his tomb should commemorate his valour, composing for it the following inscription .

This monument covers the Athenian Aeschylus son of Euphorion, who died within wheat-bearing Gela; ³ his valour will be told by the famous grove of Marathon and the deep-tressed Mede that knew it so well.⁴

5

Plutarch *Fortune of Alexander* But Alexander . . made it his business to excel in the art of arms, and to be, in the words of Aeschylus :

a weighty wrestler-at-arms, terrible to his rivals

119 45 W ³ for the gen cf Aesch *Ag* 1056, Soph *El.*
900 ⁴ cf. Eustr and Arist. *Eth Nic* 3 2 p 146 H, Plut
Exil 13, Paus 1 14 5

ΣΟΦΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ

Βίος

Suid. Σοφοκλῆς· Σοφίλλου Κολωνῆθεν Ἀθηναῖος, τραγικός, τεχθεὶς κατὰ τὴν οὔ' Ὀλυμπιάδα, ὥς πρεσβύτερος εἶναι Σωκράτους ἔτη ιζ'. οὗτος πρῶτος τρισὶν ἐχρήσατο ὑποκριταῖς καὶ τῷ καλουμένῳ τριταγωνιστῇ, καὶ πρῶτος τὸν χορὸν ἐκ πεντεκαίδεκα εἰσήγαγε νέων, πρότερον δυοκαίδεκα εἰσιόντων. προσηγορεύθη δὲ μέλιττα διὰ τὸ γλυκύ. καὶ αὐτὸς ἤρξε τοῦ δράμα πρὸς δράμα ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἀλλὰ μὴ τετραλογίαν· καὶ ἔγραψεν Ἑλεγείαν τε καὶ Παιᾶνας καὶ λόγον καταλογάδην Περὶ τοῦ Χοροῦ, πρὸς Θέσπιν καὶ Χοιρίλον ἀγωνιζόμενος . . . τελευτᾷ δὲ μετ' Εὐριπίδην ἐτῶν ἐνενήκοντα. ἐδίδαξε δὲ δράματα ρκγ', ὥς δέ τινες καὶ πολλῷ πλείω. νίκας δ' ἔλαβε κδ'.

Marm. Par. 72 (56) ἀφ' οὗ Σοφοκλῆς ὁ Σοφίλλου ὁ ἐκ Κολωνοῦ ἐνίκησε τραγωδίᾳ ἐτῶν ὧν ΔΔΓIII, ἔτη ΗΗΓI, ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Ἀψηφίωνος.

Ibid 78 (54) ἀφ' οὗ Σοφοκλῆς ὁ ποιητὴς βιώσας ἔτη ρΔΔΔΔII ἐτελεύτησεν, καὶ Κῦρος ἀνέβη [ἔτη ΗΔΔΔΔIII, ἀρχ]οντος Ἀθήνησι Καλλίου τοῦ δευτέρου.

SOPHOCLES

LIFE

Suidas *Lexicon*. Sophocles:—Son of Sophillus; an Athenian of the deme of Colonus; tragic poet; born in the 73rd Olympiad (488–5 B.C.) and thus seventeen years older than Socrates. He was the first to employ three actors and the tritagonist, as he is called, and to bring in a chorus of fifteen youths instead of twelve. He was called the Bee because of his sweetness. And he himself originated the custom of making play compete with play, rather than tetralogy, or group of four plays, with tetralogy. He also wrote an *Elegy* and *Paeans* and a prose-treatise *On the Chorus*, competing with Thespis and Choerilus. . . He died later than Euripides, at the age of ninety. He produced a hundred and twenty-three plays—indeed some writers say many more—and was victorious twenty-four times.

Parian Chronicle: From the time when Sophocles son of Sophillus, of Colonus, won the prize for tragedy at the age of twenty-eight, 206 years, in the archonship of Apsephion at Athens (469 B.C.).

The Same. From the time when the poet Sophocles died at the age of ninety-two, and Cyrus marched up-country¹ [143 years,] in the archonship of the second Callias at Athens (406 B.C.).

¹ the Anabasis described by Xenophon

ΣΟΦΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ

ΕΛΕΓΕΙΩΝ

1

Hephaest 6 [π. κοινῆς συλλαβῆς] ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔπεσι σπανώ-
τερον, οὕτως ὥστε τὸ τοῦ Ἀρχελάου ὄνομα Σοφοκλῆς ἐν ταῖς
Ἑλεγεῖαις οὐκ ἔφετο ἐγχωρεῖν οὔτε εἰς ἔπος οὔτε εἰς ἐλεγεῖον
φησὶ γοῦν·

Ἀρχέλεως· ἦν γὰρ σύμμετρον ὧδε λέγειν

2

Harpoer 36. 15 Ἀρχὴ ἄνδρα δείκνυσσι Δημοσθένης Προσιμίους
Δημηγορικοῖς. Σοφοκλῆς μὲν οἷον ἐν ταῖς Ἑλεγεῖαις Σόλωνός
φησιν αὐτὸ εἶναι ἀπόφθεγμα, Θεόφραστος δὲ τῷ Παρσιμίων καὶ
Ἀριστοτέλης Βιαντός

3

Erotian 390 (135 4 K)

χάριτες

αἱ χαραί, ὡς καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Ἑλεγεῖα

ΕΠΩΝ

3A

Clem Al *Sti.* 5. 726 Σοφοκλῆς δὲ ὁ τραγωδοποιὸς λέγει

. . . . οὐδὲ θεοῖς αὐθαίρετα πάντα πέλονται
νόσφι Διός· κεῖνος γὰρ ἔχει τέλος ἡδὲ καὶ
ἀρχήν.

SOPHOCLES

ELEGIES

1

Hephaestion *Handbook of Metre* [syllables of doubtful length] In heroic verse this shortening is less frequent; indeed the name *Archelaüs* appeared to Sophocles to suit neither Epic nor Elegiac verse, for he says :

Archeleos; for 'twas meet to the metre to say it thus.¹

2

Harpocration *Lexicon to the Attic Orators*. 'Rule shows the man'.—Demosthenes in his *Exordia to Public Speeches*, but Sophocles, in his *Elegies*, makes it a saying of Solon, and Theophrastus in his treatise *On Proverbs*, and Aristotle, ascribe it to Bias

3

Erotian *Vocabulary to Hippocrates* *Χάριτες* 'Graces' is sometimes used in the sense of

joys

as by Sophocles in an *Elegy*.

EPIC POEMS

3A

Clement of Alexandria *Miscellanies* 5 726. The tragic poet Sophocles says

Not even to the Gods come all things of their own choice without ² Zeus, He it is that hath both end and beginning.

¹ the Greek adjective can mean both 'suitable' and 'in accord with the metre' ² or except

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΩΝ

4

Ath 13 604d Ἱερώνυμος δ' ὁ Ῥόδιος ἐν τοῖς Ἱστορικοῖς Ὑπομνήμασιν φησιν, ὅτι Σοφοκλῆς εὐπρεπῇ παιδα ἔξω τείχους ἀπήγαγε χρησόμενος αὐτῷ ὁ μὲν οὖν παῖς τὸ ἴδιον ἱμάτιον ἐπὶ τῇ πόα ὑπέστρωσεν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους χλανίδα περιεβάλλοντο· μετ' οὖν τὴν ὁμιλίαν ὁ παῖς ἀρπάσας τὸ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους χλανίδιον ᾤχετο καταλιπὼν τῷ Σοφοκλεῖ τὸ παιδικὸν ἱμάτιον οἷα δὲ εἰκός, διαλαληθέντος τοῦ συμβεβηκότος Εὐριπίδης πυθόμενος καὶ ἐπιτωθάζων τὸ γεγονός, καὶ αὐτός ποτε ἔφη τούτῳ κεχρησθαι τῷ παιδί, ἀλλὰ μὴδὲν πεπονθέναι,¹ τὸν δὲ Σοφοκλέα διὰ τὴν ἀκολασίαν καταφρονηθῆναι καὶ ὁ Σοφοκλῆς ἀκούσας ἐποίησεν εἰς αὐτὸν τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπίγραμμα, χρησάμενος τῷ περὶ τοῦ Ἥλιου καὶ Βορέου λόγῳ καὶ τι πρὸς μοιχείαν αὐτοῦ παραινιττόμενος

Ἥλιος ἦν, οὐ παῖς, Εὐριπίδη, ὅς με χλαιῖνων²
 γυμνὸν ἐποίησεν σοὶ δὲ φιλοῦντι κόρην³
 Βορρᾶς ὠμίλησε· σὺ δ' οὐ σοφός, ὅς τὸν
 Ἔρωτα
 ἀλλοτρίαν σπείρων λωποδύτην ἀπάγεις.

5

Plut *An Seni* 3 τουτὶ δὲ ὁμολογουμένως Σοφοκλέους ἐστὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα

Ὀιδὴν Ἡροδότῳ τεύξεν Σοφοκλῆς ἐτέων ὦν
 πέντ' ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα

¹ Kaib mss προσθεῖναι ² iota υ in comedy, υ in *Anthol*; cf παιῖνω, where it is short only in Pind. *P.* 4 150
³ Headlam mss ἐτέραν (ἐταῖραν)

SOPHOCLES

INSCRIPTIONS

4

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner* Hieronymus of Rhodes, too, declares in his *Historical Notes* that Sophocles was once robbed of his cloak in equivocal circumstances by a boy who left him his, and when the story, as was only to be expected, went the round, Euripides heard what had happened and made mock of it, saying that in like circumstances he had suffered no loss himself, whereas Sophocles was clearly despised for a profligate. When Sophocles heard this he wrote the following epigram upon him, in which he employs the Fable of the Sun and the Northwind as an allegory of his victim's dissolute character :

It was the Sun that stripped me,¹ Euripides; but when you were after a girl your bedfellow was the Northwind; you must be a fool to hale Love into court for highway robbery when you sow another's field.

5

Plutarch *Should Old Men Govern* ² This inscription (or epigram) is admittedly the work of Sophocles.

At the age of five-and-fifty Sophocles made a song for Herodotus . . .²

¹ of Avian *Fab* 4 ² if the 55 really belongs to S the lost remainder of the line prob contained the age of H., and since the historian would be about 40 when S was 55 Bergk completes it with 'at the age of twice-twenty years' and Gomperz with 'at the age of six-times-seven years', but as the context (*q v*) clearly suggests that 55 is too low an age for S, that numeral may well be corrupt, and since we do not know that the historian is meant, emendation is useless, for Bergk's fr. 6 see *L. G.* iii p 224

ΙΩΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΙΟΥ

Βίος

Sch. Ar Pac 832 Ἴων ὁ Χίος· διθυράμβων καὶ τραγωδίας καὶ μελῶν ποιητής . . ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ Κωμωδίας καὶ Ἐπιγράμματα καὶ Παιᾶνας καὶ Ὑμνους καὶ Σκόλια καὶ Ἑγκώμια καὶ Ἐλεγεία, καὶ καταλογάδην τὸν Πρεσβευτικὸν λεγόμενον, ὃν νόθον ἀξιοῦσιν εἶναί τινες καὶ οὐχὶ αὐτοῦ φέρεται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ <Χίου>¹ Κτίσις καὶ Κοσμολογικὸς καὶ Ὑπομνήματα καὶ ἄλλα τινά. καὶ πάνυ δόκιμος ἦν φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ὁμοῦ διθύραμβον καὶ τραγωδίαν ἀγωνισάμενον ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ νικῆσαι, καὶ εὐνοίας χάριν προῖκα Χίον οἶνον πέμψαι Ἀθηναίοις.

Suid Ἴων Χίος· τραγικὸς καὶ λυρικὸς καὶ φιλόσοφος, υἱὸς Ὀρθομένων, ἐπὶ κλησιν δὲ Ξούθου. ἤρξατο δὲ τὰς τραγωδίας διδάσκειν ἐπὶ τῆς πβ' Ὀλυμπιάδος.

ΕΛΕΓΕΙΩΝ

1

Ath 10 447d 'τῷ δ' ἡμετέρῳ χορῷ² οἶνος φίλος θυρσοφόρος μέγα πρεσβέων Διόνυσος' φησὶν Ἴων ὁ Χίος ἐν τοῖς Ἑλεγείοις 'αὕτη γὰρ' κτλ.

. . . ἡμετέρῳ δὲ χορῷ²
οἶνος θυρσοφόρος, μέγα³ πρεσβέων Διόνυσος.
αὕτη γὰρ πρόφασις παντοδαπῶν λογίων,

¹ Benti

² Dind. mss χρόνῳ

³ mss also μέτα

ION OF CHIOS

LIFE

Scholiast on Aristophanes · Ion of Chios:—Writer of Dithyrambs, Tragedy, and Melic Poems. He also wrote *Comedies, Inscriptions, Paeans, Hymns, Drinking-Songs, Eulogies, Elegies*, and perhaps the prose-work called *Presbeuticus*, which some authorities consider spurious. Among other works ascribed to him are *The Founding of Chios*, a treatise *On Cosmology*, and *Memoirs* or *Notes*. He was a very famous man. He is said to have competed victoriously in Attica in the Dithyramb and Tragedy at the same time, and to have sent the Athenians a gift of Chian wine as a token of his regard.

Suidas *Lexicon*: Ion of Chios.—Tragic and lyric poet and philosopher, son of Orthomenes, and nicknamed Xuthus. He began to produce tragedies in the 82nd Olympiad (452–49 B.C.)

ELEGIAC POEMS

1

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner*. To quote from the *Elegiac Poems* of Ion of Chios

. . . but to this chorus of ours 'tis thyrses-bearing
Wine, high-honoured Dionysus, [that is dear].¹ This
hath been the theme of manifold tales in all gather-

¹ supplied by Ath. from the lost contrasted clause

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

- η¹ τε Πανελλήνων ἀγοραὶ θαλαῖαι τε ἀνάκτων,
 5 ἐξ οὗ βοτρυνόεσσ' οἶνάς ὑποχθόνιον²
 πτόρθον ἀνασχομένη θαλερῷ ἐπορέξατο³ πῆχει
 αἰθέρος, ὀφθαλμῶν δ' ἐξέθορον πυκινοὶ
 παῖδες φωνήεντες, ὅταν πέσῃ ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλῳ,
 πρὶν δὲ σιωπῶσιν, πανσάμενοι δὲ βοῆς
 10 νέκταρ ἀμέλγονται ποτὸν⁴ ὄλβιον ἀνθρώποισιν
 ξυνόν, τοῦ χαίρειν φάρμακον αὐτοφύες·
 τοῦ θαλαῖαι φίλα τέκνα φιλοφροσύναι τε χοροὶ τε·
 τῶν <δ>⁵ ἀγαθῶν βασιλεὺς οἶνος ἔδειξε φύσιν.
 τοῦ σὺ πάτερ Διόνυσσε, φιλοστεφάνοισιν ἀρέσκων
 15 ἀνδράσιν εὐθύμων συμποσίῳν πρύτανι,
 χαῖρε· δίδου δ' αἰῶνα, καλῶν ἐπιήρανε ἔργων,
 πίνειν καὶ παίζειν καὶ τὰ δίκαια φρονεῖν.

2

Ath 11 463b καὶ Ἴων δ' ὁ Χῖός φησιν

- Χαιρέτω ἡμέτερος βασιλεὺς σωτήρ τε πατήρ τε·
 ἡμῖν δὲ κρητῆρ' οἶνοχόοι θέραπες
 κερνάντες προχέοιεν⁶ ἐν ἀργυρέαις· ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς
 οἶνον ἔχων χειρῶν νιζέτω εἰς ἔδαφος.
 5 σπένδοντες δ' ἀγνῶς Ἡρακλεί τ' Ἀλκμήνῃ τε
 Προκλεί Περσείδαις τ' ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχόμενοι
 πίνωμεν, παίζωμεν, ἵτω διὰ νυκτὸς αἰοιδή,
 ὀρχεῖσθω τις, ἐκὼν δ' ἄρχε φιλοφροσύνης·
 ὄντινα δ' εὐειδῆς μίμνει θήλεια πάρευνος,
 10 κείνος τῶν ἄλλων κυδρότερον πιέτω.⁷

¹ E mss αἰ ² Mus. mss -ων ³ Lob: mss ἐπτήξατο (ἐπήξ)
⁴ Jac mss μόνον ⁵ Hart ⁶ E, or προχέοντον? cf Alc 37 A (L G 1 Ed 2, p. 441) ζαμεύοντον
 = ζαμεύετσαν, and fr 3 1 ἔχοισα, sc. κύλιξι mss here
 κερνάντων προχοαῖσιν, 496c κ. προχύταισιν and ἀργυρέοις
⁷ Mein mss πιέται

ION OF CHIOS

ings of United Greeks or feasts of kings, ever since the clustered vine raised her rooted stem and reached out her lush arm unto the sky, and from her bud-eyes leapt forth crowded children which have no speech till they fall one upon another,¹ and when their crying is done are milked of a nectar that is a rich drink all men may share, a self-grown charm to bring delight; whereof the dear children are feasts and fellowship and the dance; King Wine maketh plain the nature of the good. To whose father, to wit thee, Dionysus, Thou joy of the garlanded, Thou arbiter of the cheerful feast, I cry Hail; and do Thou grant me long life, Thou helper unto fair deeds, for to drink and play and think rightful thoughts.

2

Athenaeus *Doctois at Dinner* Compare Ion of Chios:

All hail to our King and Saviour and Sire¹ and let the wine-bearers mingle us a bowl and pour out into the cups of silver, while the gold be filled with the wine of the hands and wash them clean on to the floor,² and so making pure libation first unto Zeus and then unto Heracles and Alcmena, unto Procles and the children of Perseus,³ let us drink, let us play, let song rise into the night, and someone dance a fling, and do thou begin good fellowship with a will. And whosoever hath a fair bedfellow awaiting him, let him drink more bravely⁴ than the rest⁵

¹ the ref. is to the grapes bursting when trodden in the winepress ² the 'wine of the hands' must be water for

the customary washing of the hands between the dinner and the wine-drinking, but the reading is doubtful ³ the poem seems to have been written for a Eurypontid king of Sparta (Wil) ⁴ *but* more illustriously ⁵ cf. Ath 11 496c (2-3)

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

3

Eucl (Cleon) *Intr. Harm* 19 M [π τόνου] ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ
φθόγγου χρῶνται τῷ ὀνόματι οἱ λέγοντες ἐπτάτονον τὴν φόρμιγγα,
καθάπερ Τέρπανδρος καὶ Ἴων ὁ μὲν γὰρ φησιν . ὁ δὲ

Ἑνδεκάχορδε λύρα, δεκαβάμονα τάξιν ἔχουσα
εἰς¹ συμφωνούσας Ἀρμονίας τριόδους,
πρὶν μὲν σ' ἐπτάτονον ψάλλον διὰ τέσσαρα
πάντες
Ἕλληνες σπανίαν μοῦσαν ἀειράμενοι . .

4

Diog. L 1 120 [π Φερεκύδου] Ἴων δ' ὁ Χίος περὶ αὐτοῦ
φησιν

Ὡς ὁ μὲν ἡνωρέη τε κεκασμένος ἡδὲ καὶ αἰδοῖ
καὶ φθίμενος ψυχῇ τερπνὸν ἔχει βίοτον,
εἴπερ Πυθαγόρης ἐτύμως ὁ σοφὸς περὶ πάντων
ἀνθρώπων γνώμας εἶδε καὶ ἐξέμαθεν.

5

Ath. 2 68b ὅτι εἴρηται ἀρρενικῶς ὁ ὀρίγανος . Ἴων
αὐτὰρ ὁ γ' ἐμπαπέως τὸν ὀρίγανον ἐν χερσὶ
κεύθει.

6

Plut *Vit Thes* 20 ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τεκεῖν ἐκ Θησέως Ἀριάδνην
Οἰνοπίωνα καὶ Στάφυλον, ὧν καὶ Ἴων ὁ Χίος περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
πατρίδος λέγων

τὴν ποτε Θησείδης ἔκτισεν Οἰνοπίων

¹ Wil mss τὴν δεκ. τάξ ἔχουσ ἀεὶ τὰς

¹ *Lyra Graeca* 1 p 32 ² i.e. with the ten musical
'intervals' given by the conjunction of the *three* tetrachords;
lit to the harmonious crossways (three-roads) of H. (metaph
from the crossways of Hecate?) ² i.e. the combination of

ION OF CHIOS

3

Euclid (Cleonides) *Introduction to Music* The word *τόνος* (*lit* a stretching) is used of sound in the epithet *seven-toned* applied to the lyre, for instance by Terpander and Ion The former says (fr. 5),¹ and the latter

Eleven-stringèd Lyre with thy flight of ten steps into the place where the three concordant roads of Harmonia meet,² once all the Greeks raised but a meagre music, playing thee seven-toned four by four³ [but now . . .].

4

Diogenes Laertius *Lives of the Philosophers* [on Pherecydes] · Ion of Chios says of him

Excelling thus in manliness and modesty, dead though he be he yet hath a happy life, if the wise Pythagoras indeed could see and know the marks⁴ of men in all things.⁵

5

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner* The masculine use of *ὀρίγανος* 'marjoram' is attested by Ion thus

But he in haste did hide the marjoram in his hand.⁶

6

Plutarch *Life of Theseus* . Some writers say that Theseus had two sons by Ariadne, Oenopion and Staphylus, among them Ion of Chios who speaks of his native city thus .

which was founded once by Theseus' son Oenopion

two tetrachords into the 7-note scale ⁴ cf Theogn 60
⁵ there is prob. some connexion with Pherecydes' epitaph cited by Diog. L. i 120 and thus translated by Hicks (*Loeb Library*) 'All knowledge that a man may have had I, | Yet tell Pythagoras, were more thereby, | That first of Greeks is he, I speak no lie.' · ⁶ cf. *E M* *ὀρίγανος*

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

7

Ath. 10 436 f [π "Ιωνος] καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλεγγείοις ἐρᾶν μὲν ὁμολογεῖ Χρυσίλλης τῆς Κορινθίας Τελέου δὲ θυγατρός, ἧς καὶ Περικλέα τὸν Ὀλύμπιον ἐρᾶν φησι Τηλεκλείδης ἐν Ἑσιόδοις.

7A

Plut *Vit. Pericl.* 5 3 ὁ δὲ ποιητὴς Ἴων μοθωνικὴν φησι τὴν ὁμιλίαν καὶ ὑπότυφον εἶναι τοῦ Περικλέους καὶ ταῖς μεγαλαυχίαις αὐτοῦ πολλὴν ὑπεροψίαν ἀναμεμεῖχθαι καὶ περιφρόνησιν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπαινεῖ δὲ τὸ Κίμωνος ἐμμελὲς καὶ ὑγρὸν καὶ μεμουςώμενον ἐν ταῖς συμπεριφοραῖς ἀλλ' Ἴωνα μὲν ὥσπερ τραγικὴν διδασκαλίαν ἀξιούντα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχειν τι πάντως καὶ σατυρικὸν μέρος ἐῶμεν . .

ION OF CHIOS

7

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner* [on Ion]: And he himself admits in his *Elegiac Poems* that he loved the Corinthian Chrysilla daughter of Teleas, who also, according to *The Hesiods* of Telecleides, was the mistress of Pericles 'the Olympian.'

7A

Plutarch *Life of Pericles* The poet Ion declares ¹ that Pericles' manner was *mothonic*, that is to say bumptious, and that his proud airs contained more than a spice of disdain and contempt for others, Cimon on the other hand he praises for showing in society good taste, easy temper, and a cultivated mind. But we will ignore the testimony of Ion, who must needs have a man's virtues include a satyr-play like a tragic tetralogy.²

¹ perh. in a prose-work
Ion see *Lyra Graeca* III 226

² for the Melic Fragments of

ΙΩΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΑΜΙΟΥ

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ

1

Anth. Pal. 7. 43 *eis* Εὐριπίδην Ἰωνος

Χαῖρε μελαμπετάλοις,¹ Εὐριπίδη, ἐν γυάλοισιν
Πιερίας τὸν αἰὲ νυκτὸς ἔχων θάλαμον.
ἴσθι δ' ὑπὸ χθονὸς ὦν, ὅτι σοι κλέος ἀφθιτον ἔσται
ἶσον Ὀμηρείαις ἀενάοις χάρισιν.

2

Inscr. ap. Homolle Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr. 1901
688 :

Εἰκόν' ἐὰν ἀνέθηκεν [ἐ]π' ἔ[ρ]γω τῷδ', ὅτε νικῶν
ναυσὶ θααῖς πέρσεν Κεκροπιδᾶν δύναμιν
Λύσανδρος Λακεδαίμον' ἀπόρθητον στεφανώσας
Ἑλλάδος ἀκρόπολιν, καλλίχορον πατρίδα.
Ἐκ Σάμου ἀμφιρύτ[ου] τεύξ' ἐλεγείον Ἰων.²

¹ Lob mss -πέπλοις ² stone has elided vowels written, καλλιχορομ, for ἐκ Σάμου εξαμο, and apparently ἀμφιρυτο

ION OF SAMOS

INSCRIPTIONS

1

Palatine Anthology Ion ¹ on Euripides —

Farewell to thee, Euripides, for whom Night's eternal chamber is in the dark-leaved dells of Pieria;² but albeit thou art underground, know that thy fame shall be everlasting even as the perennial graces of Homer

2

Inscription on a stone found at Delphi :

His image did Lysander set up upon this work³ when he destroyed the might of the Children of Cecrops by the victory of his swift ships, and crowned the never-ravaged Lacedaemon, citadel of Greece, his country of fair dances. These lines were made by Ion of sea-girt Samos⁴

¹ as E. seems to have outlived Ion of Chios, this is prob. the work either of Ion of Samos or of the rhapsode Ion of Ephesus, the Ion of Plato's dialogue ² Euripides died in Macedonia ³ ref to the large monument of which the base is 20 metres long, *or, less likely*, in honour of what he did ⁴ the ref. is to the defeat of the Athenians at Aegospotami in 405 B C.

ΦΙΛΙΑΔΟΥ

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ

Steph Byz. Θέσπεια πόλις Βοιωτίας . γράφεται καὶ διὰ τοῦ ι καὶ ἐκτείνεται· καὶ συστέλλεται παρὰ Κορίννη καὶ ἐπιγράμμα<τι> τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων ὑπο τῶν Περσῶν ἣν δὲ Φιλιάδου Μεγαρέως·

Ἄνδρες τοί ποτ' ἔναιον ὑπὸ κροτάφοις Ἑλικῶνος,
λήματι τῶν ἀνχεῖ Θεσπιάς εὐρύχορος.

PHILIADES

INSCRIPTION

Stephanus of Byzantium *Lexicon* Thespeia:—A city of Boeotia. . It is also written with a long iota; it is short in Corinna, and in the *Epitaph* of those who were slain by the Persians, it was written by Philades of Megara :

The men who once lived beneath the forehead of Helicon, their courage is now the boast of the spacious land of Thespieae ¹

¹ prob put up at Thermopylae after the time of Herodotus ;
cf. Eust 266 11 (τὸ κατὰ Βοιωτοὺς ἐπίγραμμα), *A P. App.* 94

ΜΕΛΑΝΘΙΟΥ

ΕΛΕΓΕΙΩΝ

Ath 8 343 c τῆς αὐτῆς ιδέας καὶ Μελάνθιος ἦν ὁ τῆς τραγωδίας ποιητῆς ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ ἐλεγεία καμφοδοῦσι δ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ὀψοφαγία Λεύκων ἐν Φράτρσιν, Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Εἰρήνῃ, Φερεκράτης ἐν Πετάλῃ

Plut *Comp Praec* 43 Γοργίου τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀναγνόντος ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ λόγον Περὶ Ὁμονοίας ὁ Μελάνθιος 'Τοῖς Ἕλλησιν¹ οὗτος' ἔφη 'συμβουλεύει περὶ ὁμονομίας, ὃς αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν θεράπαιναν ἰδίᾳ τρεῖς ὄντας ὁμονοεῖν οὐ πέπεικεν.' ἦν γὰρ ὡς ἔοικε τις ἔρως τοῦ Γοργίου καὶ ζηλοτυπία τῆς γυναικὸς πρὸς τὸ θεραπαινίδιον

1

Plut *Vit. Cim* 4 [π τῆς ποικίλης στοάς] ὁ δὲ Πολύγνωτος οὐκ ἦν τῶν βαναύσων οὐδ' ἀπ' ἐργολαβίας ἔγραφε τὴν στοάν, ἀλλὰ προῖκα, φιλοτιμούμενος πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ὡς οἷ τε συγγραφεῖς ἱστοροῦσι καὶ Μελάνθιος ὁ ποιητῆς λέγει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον

Αὐτοῦ γὰρ δαπάναισι θεῶν ναοὺς ἀγοράν τε
Κεκροπίαν κόσμησ' ἡμιθέων ἀρεταῖς.²

2

Ibid Κίμων ὁ Μιλτιάδου μητρὸς ἦν Ἠγησιπύλης, γένος Θωράττης, θυγατρὸς Ὀλόρου τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς ἐν τοῖς Ἀρχελάου καὶ Μελανθίου ποιήμασιν εἰς αὐτὸν Κίμωνα γεγραμμένοις ἱσθόρηται.

3

Ibid οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλως φαίνεται τοῖς περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐρωτικοῖς ὁ Κίμων ἔνοχος γενέσθαι· καὶ γὰρ Ἀστερίας τῇ γένει Σαλαμινίας καὶ πάλιν Μνήστρας τινὸς ὁ ποιητῆς Μελάνθιος μνημονεύει πρὸς τὸν Κίμωνα παίζων δι' ἐλεγείας σπουδαζομένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ

¹ the mss have these two words before ὁ Μελ.
mss ἀγοραῖς, γραφαῖσιν

² Reis

MELANTHIUS

ELEGIAC POEMS

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner* Of the same type was Melanthius the tragedy-writer, but he also wrote *Elegiac Poems* He is caricatured for his love of good living by Leucon in the *Fellow-Clansmen*, by Aristophanes in the *Peace* (l 804), and by Pherecrates in the *Petalè*

Plutarch *Conjugal Precepts* When the orator Gorgias read at Olympia a work on *Concord*, Melanthius remarked 'This fellow recommends concord to all the Greeks, though he has never made it where there's only three, himself, his wife, and the housemaid' It seems that Gorgias had a liking for the slave-girl, and his wife was jealous of her

1

Plutarch *Life of Cimon* [on the Painted Colonnade] Polygnotus was no mere mechanic He painted the Colonnade not by contract but for love, out of pride in the city, as we may learn from the historians and as the poet Melanthius testifies thus

For 'twas at his own expense that he adorned the temples of the Gods and the Cecropian market-place with the valorous deeds of the demigods.

2

The Same. The mother of Cimon son of Miltiades was a Thracian named Hegesipylè, daughter of King Olorus, as we are told in the poems addressed to Cimon himself by Archelaüs and Melanthius

3

The Same. In any case it is clear that speaking generally Cimon was open to the imputation of profligacy in respect of women The poet Melanthius makes facetious reference in an *Elegy* to his wooing of the Salaminian Asteria and also of a certain Mnestra

ΕΜΠΕΔΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ

Suid. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς Μέτωνος, οἱ δὲ Ἀρχινόμου, οἱ δὲ Ἐξαινέτου . ἠκροάσατο δὲ πρώτου Παρμενίδου, οὗτινος ὥς φησι Πορφύριος ἐν τῇ Φιλοσόφων Ἱστορίᾳ, καὶ ἐγένετο παιδικά <εἰσὶν δ'> οὗ ἔφασαν μαθητὴν Τηλαύγου τοῦ Πυθαγόρου υἱοῦ τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα γενέσθαι Ἀκραγαντίνος δὲ φιλόσοφος φυσικὸς καὶ ἐποποιὸς ἦν δὲ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν Ὀλυμπιάδα . στέμμα ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς χρυσοῦν καὶ ἀμύκλας ἐπὶ ¹ τοῖς ποσὶ χαλκᾶς καὶ στέμματα Δελφικὰ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπῆρει τὰς πόλεις, δόξαν περὶ αὐτοῦ κατασχεῖν ὥς περὶ θεοῦ βουλόμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ γηραὶς ἐγένετο, νύκτωρ ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς κρατῆρα πυρός, ὥστε μὴ φανῆναι αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα καὶ οὕτως ἀπώλετο τοῦ σανδαλίου αὐτοῦ ἐκβρασθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός . . γέγονε δὲ τούτου μαθητὴς Γοργίας ὁ ῥήτωρ ὁ Λεοντίνος καὶ ἔγραψε δι' ἐπὶ Περὶ φύσεως τῶν ὄντων βιβλία β' (καὶ ἔστιν ἔπη ὥς δισχιλία), ἱατρικὰ καταλογάδην καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ

Ath. 14. 620d τοὺς δὲ Ἐμπεδοκλέους Καθαρμοὺς ἐρραψώδησεν Ὀλυμπίασι Κλεομένης ὁ ῥαψφδός, ὥς φησιν Δικαίαιρχος ἐν τῷ Ὀλυμπικῷ.

Lucr. 1 714 ff

. . et qui quattuor ex rebus posse omnia rentur
ex igni terra atque anima procreescere et imbri,
quorum Acragantinus cum primis Empedocles est,
insula quem triquetris terrarum gessit in oris. .
quae cum magna modis multis miranda videtur
gentibus humanis regio visendaque fertur,
rebus opima bonis, multa munita virum vi,
nil tamen hoc habuisse viro praeclarius in se
nec sanctum magis et mirum carumque videtur. [over]

¹ mss ἐν

¹ this famous story is prob untrue; the accounts of his death vary (see Diog. L. 8 67 ff) . ² the many extant

EMPEDOCLES

INSCRIPTIONS

Suidas *Lexicon* · Empedocles —Son of Meton, or according to some authorities Archinomus, or as others say, Exaenetus. He was at first a pupil of Parmenides, of whom, if we may believe Porphyrius' *History of the Philosophers*, he was the bosom-friend. Some writers make him a pupil of Telauges the son of Pythagoras. He was of Acragas, a physical philosopher and epic poet, he flourished in the 79th Olympiad (464-1 B C) . He visited the cities of Greece with a gold wreath on his head, bronze Amyclean shoes on his feet, and Delphic garlands in his hands, with the intention of establishing himself in the public mind as a God. When he became old he threw himself by night into a crater, so that his body should never be found, and thus perished, his sandal being cast up by the fire ¹ . A pupil of his was Gorgias the orator of Leontini. He wrote two Books in epic verse *On the Nature of Things*—these amount to upwards of 2,000 lines ²—a prose-work called *Medicine*, and many others.

The Same. The *Purifications* of Empedocles were recited at Olympia by the rhapsode Cleomenes, according to Dicaearchus in his *Olympic Oration*.

Lucretius *On the Nature of Things* ·

. And such as hold that all things come of four—
Of fire, earth, air, and water, now of these
Chief is Empedocles of Agrigent,
Son of the isle of shores triangular
Which great and manywise marvellous tho' it be,
Worthy the traveller's eye, rich in good things,
And furnished with a host of dwellers, yet
Methinks it ne'er had aught more glorious,
More holy, or more wondrous, or more dear,

citations from this work and from the other 'epic' writings of E. will be found in Diels' *Vorsokratiker* 1 p 223 ff

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

carmina quin etiam divini pectoris eius
vociferantur et exponunt piaecleara reperta,
ut vix humana videatur stirpe creatus.

1

Diog. L. 8 65 πάλιν δ' Ἀκρωνος τοῦ ἱατροῦ τόπον αἰτοῦντος
παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς εἰς κατασκευὴν πατρῶου μνήματος διὰ τὴν ἐν
τοῖς ἱατροῖς ἀκρότητα, παρελθὼν ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἐκώλυσεν τὰ τε
ἄλλα περὶ ἰσότητος διαλεχθεὶς καὶ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον ἐρωτήσας 'Τί
δὲ ἐπιγράψομεν ἐλεγείων, ἢ τοῦτο

Ἄκρον ἱητρὸν Ἀκρων', Ἀκραγαντῖνον πατρὸς
Ἄκρου
κρύπτει κρημνὸς ἄκρος πατρίδος ἀκροτάτης.¹

τινὲς δὲ τὸν δεῦτερον στίχον οὕτω προφέρονται

ἀκροτάτης κορυφῆς τύμβος ἄκρος κάτεχει.

τοῦτό τινες Σιμωνίδου φασὶν εἶναι

2

Ibid 60 ἦν δ' ὁ Πausanίας, ὥς φησιν Ἀίστιππος καὶ Σά-
τυρος, ἐρώμενος αὐτοῦ, ᾧ δὴ καὶ τὰ Περὶ Φύσεως προσπεφώνηκεν
(ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς) οὕτως [fr 1 Diels] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα εἰς
αὐτὸν ἐποίησε

Πausανίην ἱητρὸν ἐπώνυμον, Ἀγχίτεω υἱόν,
τόνδ' Ἀσκληπιάδην πατρίς ἔθρεψε Γέλα.¹
ὅς πλείστους κρυεραῖσι μαραινομένους ὑπὸ νόσοις²
φώτας ἀπέστρεψεν Φερσεφόνης θαλάμων.³

¹ τόνδ' Ἀντή (and ἔθαψε πέλας, Πλαν κόνις). Diog. φῶτ'

² so Ἀντή. Diog πολλοὺς μογεροῖσι μαρ καμάτοισιν ³ so
Ἀντή Diog ἀδύτων

¹ every word of the Gk contains *kr* or *tr*, and *akr* occurs in
six words out of the eleven (e.g. 'Here is Dick Crick laid,|

EMPEDOCLES

Than him, nay, his divine heart's song
So loud and clear is, telling to the world
His glorious discoveries, that scarce
He seems to be of human lineage.

1

Diogenes Laertius *Lives of the Philosophers* [Empedocles] ·
When the physician Acron asked the council for a site for a
monument to his father, who had reached the top of the same
profession, Empedocles came forward and defeated the pro-
posal by a speech in which he dilated upon equality, his chief
argument being to ask 'What inscription shall we put upon
it? Shall it be this?'

Acron son of Acros, Acragas the eminent physician,
lies beneath the most eminent height of his most
eminent birthplace.'¹

Other writers give as the second line :

is laid in a tomb eminent upon an eminence.

Some authorities ascribe the couplet to Simonides

2

The Same Pausanias, according to Anstippus and Satyrus,
was Empedocles' bosom-friend, and indeed it was he to whom
he addressed his poem *On Nature* in the words · [fr. 1 Diels].
Moreover he wrote an epigram on him

With good name was this Asclepiad physician
Pausanias, son of Anchites, bred in his birthplace
Gela; for many a wight that wasted in dire woes
he turned back on his way to the chamber of
Persephonè²

Son of Rick Crick of Cricklade, | A tip-top physician | In a
tip-top position', the father's real name was Xenon (Suid.
"Ακρων). cf Suid "Ακρων, Tz Sch in Hermog. Cram. A.O. 4.
119 13, Hesych Mil 21, Rh Gr 3 641 W, Eust. 1634 12
² Pausanias is here derived from παύω 'to make to cease'
and ἀνία 'pain' cf A P. 7 508 (Σιμωνιδου)

ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΤ

ΕΑΓΓΕΙΑ

Diog L 2 16 Ἀρχέλαος Ἀθηναῖος ἢ Μιλήσιος, πατὴρ Ἀπολλοδώρου, ὡς δέ τινες, Μίδωνος, μαθητῆς Ἀναξαγόρου, διδάσκαλος Σωκράτους καὶ ἐκλήθη φυσικός, παρὸ καὶ ἔληξεν ἐν αὐτῷ ἡ φυσικὴ φιλοσοφία, Σωκράτους τὴν ἠθικὴν εἰσαγαγόντος. ἔοικεν δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἄψασθαι τῆς ἠθικῆς· καὶ γὰρ περὶ νόμων πεφίλοσόφηκεν καὶ καλῶν καὶ δικαίων παρ' οὗ λαβὼν Σωκράτης τῷ αὐξῆσαι αὐτὸς¹ εὐρεῖν ὑπελήφθη ἔλεγε δὲ δύο αἰτίαι εἶναι γενέσεως, θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρόν, καὶ τὰ ζῷα ἀπὸ τῆς ἰλύος γεννηθῆναι, καὶ τὸ δίκαιον εἶναι καὶ τὸ αἰσχρὸν οὐ φύσει ἀλλὰ νόμῳ.

Suid Ἀρχέλαος . συνέταξε δὲ Φυσιολογίαν . . καὶ ἄλλα τινά

Plut *Cim* 4 δῆλος δ' ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς Ἰσοδίκην τὴν Εὐρυπτολέμου μὲν θυγατέρα τοῦ Μεγακλέους κατὰ νόμους δ' αὐτῷ συμβιώσαν ὁ Κίμων ἐμπαθέστερον διατεθεὶς καὶ δυσφορήσας ἀποθανούσης, εἴ τι δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι ταῖς γεγραμμέναις ἐπὶ παρηγορίᾳ τοῦ πένθους ἐλεγείαις πρὸς αὐτόν, ὦν Παναίτιος ὁ φιλόσοφος οἶεται ποιητὴν γεγονέναι τὸν φυσικὸν Ἀρχέλαον, οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου τοῖς χρόνοις εἰκάζων

Ibid. 4 Κίμων ὁ Μιλτιάδου μητὴρ ἦν κτλ

¹ Emp mss εἰς τὸ

ARCHELAÛS

ELEGY

Diogenes Laertius *Lives of the Philosophers*. Archelaus — Of Athens or Miletus, his father Apollodorus or, according to some writers, Midon, pupil of Anaxagoras and teacher of Socrates. He was called the physical philosopher, because with him the study of natural philosophy came to an end, Socrates having introduced that of ethics. It would seem that Archelaus himself studied the new subject, for he has left philosophic treatises on law and goodness and justice. Deriving the subject from him, Socrates advanced it so much that he was thought to have invented it. Archelaus maintained that there are two causes of growth or 'becoming,' heat and cold, that living things were produced from slime, and that righteousness and its opposite are matters not of nature but of convention.

Suidas *Lexicon*. Archelaus — . He composed a *Natural Philosophy* . . . and there are other works of his.

Plutarch *Life of Cimon*: And it is clear that he was also deeply attached to his lawful wife, Isodicè daughter of Euryptolemus son of Megacles, and took her death very hardly, if we may judge by the elegies written to console him, which are thought by the philosopher Panaetius to be the work of the natural philosopher Archelaus—a conjecture which is sound chronologically.

The Same The mother of Cimon, etc. (see Melanthius fr. 2).

ΙΠΠΩΝΟΣ

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ

Ar *Nub.* 94 ΣΤΡΕΨΙΑΔΗΣ καὶ ΦΕΙΔΙΠΠΙΔΗΣ·

ΣΤ. ὁρᾷς τὸ θύριον τοῦτο καὶ τῷ κίδιον,

ΦΕΙ ὁρῶ. τί οὖν τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐτεόν, ὦ πάτερ;

ΣΤ. ψυχῶν σοφῶν τοῦτ' ἐστὶ φροντιστήριον.
ἐνταῦθ' ἐνοικοῦσ' ἄνδρες οἱ τὸν οὐρανὸν
λέγοντες ἀναπαύουσιν ὥς ἔστιν πνιγέως
κᾶστιν περὶ ἡμᾶς οὗτος, ἡμεῖς δ' ἄνθρακες.
οὗτοι διδάσκουσ', ἀργύριον ἦν τις διδῶ,
λέγοντα νικᾶν καὶ δίκαια κᾶδικα.

Sch *ad loc.* ταῦτα δὲ πρότερος Κρατῖνος ἐν Πανόπταις
δράματι περὶ Ἰππῶνος τοῦ φιλοσόφου κωμῶδων αὐτὸν λέγει

Sch Clem Al *Protr* 4 103 τοῦ δὲ Ἰππῶνος καὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς
ἀσεβοῦς γενομένου μέμνηται ὁ Κρατῖνος

Hippol. 1. 16 Ἰππῶν δὲ ὁ Ῥηγίνος ἀρχὰς ἔφη ψυχρὸν τὸ
ὑδωρ καὶ θερμὸν τὸ πῦρ, γενόμενον δὲ τὸ πῦρ ὑπὸ ὑδατος κατα-
νικῆσαι τὴν τοῦ γεννήσαντος δύναμιν συστήσαι τε τὸν κόσμον.

Clem. Al *Protr* 55 1 48 οὐ νέμεσις τοίνυν οὐδὲ Ἰππῶνι
ἀπαθανατίζοντι τὸν θάνατον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ὁ Ἰππῶν οὗτος ἐπι-
γραφήναι ἐκέλευσεν τῷ μνήματι τῷ ἑαυτοῦ τόδε τὸ ἐλεγείον
'Ἰππῶνος τόδε σῆμα' κτλ.

Arist *Met* 984a 3 Ἰππῶνος δ' οὐκ ἂν τις ἀξιόσειε θεῖναι
μετὰ τούτων (τῶν τὸ ὑδωρ ἀρχὴν εἶναι οἰομένων) διὰ τὴν εὐτέλειαν
αὐτοῦ τῆς διανοίας

Alex Aphr *ad loc* 1 3. 27 1 Hayd τοῦτο δὲ λέγοι ἂν
περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἄθεος ἦν τοιοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ
ἐπίγραμμα·

Ἰππῶνος τόδε σῆμα, τὸν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν
ἶσον ἐποίησεν Μοῖρα καταφθίμενον.

¹ i e. non-existent: cf Ath. 13 610b whence a citation of
'Hippon the atheist' has fallen out

HIPPON

INSCRIPTION

Aristophanes *Clouds*: STREPSIADES and PHEIDIPPIDES :
S. D'ye see that little door and the cottage beyond?—P Yes, what is it? Do tell me, father —S That's the thinking-house of wise souls, where people live who try to persuade us by their talk that the sky 's an oven, all round us, and we're the coals. They teach, if you pay them for it, how to win an argument whether it be right or wrong.

Scholast on the *passage* . . This was said before by Cratinus in the *All-Seers*, where he takes off the philosopher Hippon.

Scholast on Clement of Alexandria Cratinus accuses Hippon, too, of impiety.

Hippolytus (Origen) *Against the Heresies*· Hippon of Rhegium declared the elements to be cold, that is water, and heat, that is fire, and held that the fire when produced by water conquered the power of its parent and formed the world.

Clement of Alexandria *Protrepticus* Thus Hippon had a perfect right to immortalise his own death, for he gave instructions for the following couplet to be inscribed upon his tomb 'This is,' etc.

Aristotle *Metaphysics* Owing to the feeble nature of his speculations Hippon can have no claim to be included among the philosophers who hold water to be an element or first principle

Alexander of Aphrodisias on the *passage* He (Aristotle) would say this about him (Hippon) because he was an atheist, for even the inscription upon his tomb is of this character :

This is the tomb of Hippon, whom by death Fate made equal with the Immortal Gods.¹

ΔΙΟΝΤΣΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΧΑΛΚΟΥ

Βίος

Plut Nic. 5 καὶ ὁ μάλιστα ταῦτα συντραγῶδων καὶ συμπεριτιθεὶς ὄγκον αὐτῷ καὶ δόξαν Ἱέρων ἦν ἀνὴρ τεθραμμένος ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας τοῦ Νικίου, περί τε γράμματα καὶ μουσικὴν ἐξεσηκημένος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, προσποιούμενος δ' υἱὸς εἶναι Διονυσίου τοῦ Χαλκοῦ προσαγορευθέντος, οὗ καὶ ποιήματα σφύζεται, καὶ τῆς εἰς Ἱταλίαν ἀποικίας ἡγεμὼν γενόμενος ἔκτισε Θουρίους.

Sch Ar Nub 332 [Θουριομάντις]. . . . τοὺς εἰς Θούριον, πόλιν Σικελίας, πεμφθέντας ἐπὶ τῷ κτίσαι αὐτήν· ἐπέμφθησαν δὲ δέκα ἄνδρες ὧν καὶ Λάμπων ἦν ὁ μάντις, ὃν ἐξηγτὴν ἐκάλουν.

Ath 13 602 b [π. Χαρίτωνος καὶ Μελανίππου]. διὸ καὶ ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἡσθεὶς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀναβολὴν τοῦ θανάτου τῷ Φαλάριδι ἐχαρίσατο, τοῦτο ἐμφήνας τοῖς πυνθανομένοις τῆς Πυθίας ὅπως αὐτῷ ἐπιθῶνται· ἔχρησεν δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Χαρίωνα, προτάξας τοῦ ἑξαμέτρου τὸ πεντάμετρον, καθάπερ ὕστερον καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐποίησε ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Χαλκοῦς ἐν τοῖς Ἑλεγείοις.

DIONYSIUS CHALCUS

LIFE

Plutarch *Life of Nicias*. The man who more than anyone else played up to him in this part and helped him on with his cloak of dignity and self-importance, was one named Hieron, who had been brought up in his house and given by him a thorough education in letters and music, but claimed to be a son of Dionysius called Chalcus or the Brazen, whose poems are extant and who, as leader of the colony that went out to Italy, founded Thurii ¹

Scholast on Aristophanes *Clouds* ['Thurii-prophets'] . . . the citizens sent out to found the city of Thurium in Sicily, ten in number, including the prophet Lampon whom they called the expounder (*which also means leader-out*) ²

Heracleides of Pontus in Athenaeus [on Chariton and Melanippus]: Pleased by this, Apollo gave Phalaris respite from death, declaring this to be his will to any who came to consult the Pythian priestess how they might best attack him, and giving them an oracle concerning Chariton in which the pentameter preceded the hexameter in the manner afterwards affected in his *Elegiac Poems* by the Athenian Dionysius, named Chalcus.

¹ 443 B.C. ² Photius *Lex. Θουριομάντεις* mentions amongst various 'founders' of Sybaris (Thuria) Χαλκιδεὺς Διονύσιος, 'Dionysius of Chalcis' (*sic*)

ΔΙΟΝΤΣΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΧΑΛΚΟΥ

ΕΛΕΓΕΙΩΝ

1

Ath 15 669 d καὶ ὁ Δημόκριτος ‘Ἄλλ’ ἵνα κἄγω’ φησὶν
 ‘μνημονεύσω τῶν τοῦ Χαλκοῦ ποιητοῦ καὶ ῥήτορος Διονυσίου—
 Χαλκοῦς δὲ προσηγορεύθη διὰ τὸ συμβουλευεῖναι Ἀθηναίοις χαλκῷ
 νομίσματι χρῆσασθαι, καὶ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἀνέγραψε Καλλιμάχος
 ἐν τῇ τῶν Ῥητορικῶν Ἀναγραφῇ—λέξω τι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν
 Ἑλεγείων σὺ δὲ ὦ Θεόδωρε’ (τοῦτο γάρ σου τὸ κύριον ὄνομα)
 ‘δέχου,’ κτλ

ὦ Θεόδωρε, δέχου τήνδε προπινομένην
 τήν ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ ποίησιν· ἐγὼ δ’ ἐπιδέξια πέμπω
 σοὶ πρώτῳ χάρταις¹ ἐγκεράσας Χάριτας.
 καὶ σὺ λαβὼν τόδε δῶρον ἀοιδὰς ἀντιπρόπιθι,
 συμπόσιον κοσμῶν καὶ τὸ σὸν εὖ θέμενος.

2

Ibid 669 b πρὸς ὃν ὁ Κύριουλος ἀεὶ τῷ Σύρῳ ἀντικουρυσσό-
 μενος καὶ οὐδέποτε τῆς φιλονεικίας παύόμενος ἧς εἶχε πρὸς αὐτόν,
 ἐπεὶ θόρυβος κατεῖχεν τὸ συμπόσιον, ἔφη ‘Τίς οὗτος ὁ συρβηνέων
 χορὸς, καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ τούτων τῶν ἐπῶν μεμνημένος τινῶν ἐρῶ, ἵνα
 μὴ ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς βρενθῇται ὥς ἐκ τῶν ἀποθέτων τοῖς Ὀμηρίδαις
 <ὁμοίως>² μόνος ἀνασπάσας τὰ κοττάβεια·

Ἀγγελίας ἀγαθῆς δεῦρ’ ἵτε πευσόμενοι,
 καὶ κυλίκων ἔριδας διαλύσατε καὶ κατάθεσθε
 τὴν ξύνεσιν παρ’ ἐμοί, καὶ τάδε μανθάνετε·
 εἰς τὴν παροῦσαν ζήτησιν ἐπιτήδεια ὄντα·

¹ E: mss χαρίτων

² Kaib

¹ Ath. adds in parenthesis, adapting his citation, ‘For this is your proper name’ (i e gift of God) ² i e. his book

DIONYSIUS CHALCUS

ELEGIAC POEMS

1

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner* 'But if I too,' said Democritus, 'may quote the Brazen poet and orator Dionysius—called the Brazen or bronze, by the way, because he advised the Athenians to adopt a bronze coinage, and the speech in which he did so is included by Callimachus in his *List of Orations*—I in my turn will recite something from his *Elegiac Poems*

Receive, O Theodorus,¹ this toast I drink you of my poetry; to you first of the guests about the board I hand the Graces I have mingled with leaves of paper,² and do you take this gift, and pledge me songs back, to the adornment of our feast and the enhancing of your own happiness

2

The Same Hereupon Cynuleus, always up in arms against the Syrian and never content to let their quarrel rest, cried amid the tumult which had arisen round the table, 'What is this troop of rowdies? I too will recall and recite you some of these lines (of Dionysius), or Ulpius will be giving himself airs for having been the only one to draw on his secret store of poems, like the Homeridae, for cottabus-lore :

Come hither and hear good news; cease the strife of cups, win sense of me, and learn what I have to say ;

and that is, something relevant to our present enquiry.'

of poems, as wine was mingled with water before drinking, but the reading is doubtful

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

3, 4

Ath 15 668 e μνημονεύει τῶν λατάγων καὶ τῶν κοττάβων καὶ ὁ Χαλκοῦς καλούμενος Διονύσιος ἐν τοῖς Ἑλεγείοις διὰ τούτων

Κότταβον ἐνθάδε σοι τρίτον ἐστάναι οἱ δυσέρωτες
 ἡμεῖς προστίθεμεν γυμνασίῳ Βρομίου
 κώρυκον· οἱ δὲ παρόντες ἐνείρετε χεῖρας ἅπαντες
 ἐς σφαίρας κυλίκων· καὶ πρὶν ἐκεῖσε δικεῖν¹
 ὄμμασι βηματίσαισθε τὸν ἄερα² τὸν κατὰ κλίνην,
 6 εἰς ὅσον αἱ λάταγες χωρίον ἐκτατέαι.³

ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς ἤτει πιεῖν μεγάλη κύλικι ἐπιλέγων ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν Ἑλεγείων καὶ τόδε

. . ὕμνους οἶνοχοεῖν ἐπιδέξια σοί τε καὶ ἡμῖν
 τόν τε σὸν ἀρχαῖον τηλεδαπόν τε φίλον
 εἰρεσίῃ γλώσσης ἀποπέμψομεν εἰς μέγαν αἶνον
 τοῦδ' ἐπὶ συμποσίου· δεξιότης δὲ⁴ λόγου
 Φαίλακας⁵ Μουσῶν ἐρέτας ἐπὶ σέλματα πέμπει.

5

Ibid 10. 443 c Ὁ Ποντιανὸς ἔφη πάντων τούτων εἶναι τῶν δεινῶν μητρόπολιν τὸν οἶνον, δι' ὃν καὶ τὰς μέθας καὶ τὰς μανίας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰς παροινίας γίνεσθαι οὐ τοὺς ἐκπαθῶς μεταλαμβάνοντας οὐ κακῶς ὁ Χαλκοῦς ἐπικαλούμενος Διονύσιος ἐν τοῖς Ἑλεγείοις κυλίκων ἐρέτας ἔφη

καὶ τινες οἶνον ἄγοντες ἐν εἰρεσίῃ Διονύσου
 συμποσίου ναῦται καὶ κυλίκων ἐρέται
 . . ⁶ περὶ τοῦδε· τὸ γὰρ φίλον οὐκ ἀπόλωλε.

¹ E. mss ἐκείνον ἰδεῖν (emendation of ἐκεῖσ' ἀδικεῖν)

² mss also αἰθέρα ³ Buch mss ἐκτέταται ⁴ B mss τε

⁵ Emp mss -κος ⁶ Herm μάργανται

¹ all the varieties of this after-dinner game involved the throwing of wine-drops at a mark, which, like the game itself, was called *cottabus* as here ² to judge by the vase-

DIONYSIUS CHALCUS

3, 4

The Same Mention is made both of the cottabus and the *λάταιες* or wine-drops thrown in that game by Dionysius called the Brazen, in his *Elegiac Poems*, thus :

Here we love-lorn swains add for you to the school of Biomius, to take its place as a third kind of cottabus,¹ the bag; and all you guests must twist your fingers into the handles of your cups:² and before you throw at it you should pace the air over the couch with your eye, to reckon how far the drops are to extend.

Hereupon Ulpian asked for a drink in a great cup, adding to his request the following lines from the same *Elegiacs* ³

. . . to pour out the wine of hymns in turn about the board to Thee ⁴ and to us; and Thy ancient and far-come friend we will dispatch with oarage of the tongue unto great praise at this our feast;⁵ Wit sendeth Phaeacian ⁶ oarsmen to the benches of the Muses' ship.⁷

5

The Same . Pontianus here remarked that all these terrors were colonists of one city, Wine, the originator of Intoxication, Frenzy, and Drunken Outrage, whose devotees Dionysius, surnamed the Brazen, not ineptly calls in his *Elegiacs* 'oarsmen of cups'

and certain sailors of the feast and oarsmen of cups, bringing wine in the rowing of Dionysus ⁸ . . . about this ⁹; for that which is dear is not lost.

pictures, this must be the meaning of *σφαίρας*, the player about to throw the wine-drops held his cup pointing *inwards* so as to increase the 'swing'; this called for a peculiar 'hold,' cf. Antiph. Com 2 180 Mein. ³ a line appears to have been lost ⁴ Dionysius ⁵ i.e. sing the praises of wine ⁶ i.e. expert ⁷ or sends to the benches the Phaeacian oarsmen of the Muses ⁸ meaning uncertain, perh rowing-boat of D, cf *navigium* • ⁹ the verb is lost

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

6

Ath 15 *fin* ταῦτα, φίλτατε Τιμόκρατες, κατὰ τὸν Πλάτωνα
οὐ Σωκράτους νέου καὶ καλοῦ παίγνια, ἀλλὰ τῶν δειπνοσοφιστῶν
σπουδάσματα κατὰ γὰρ τὸν Χαλκοῦν Διονύσιον

. . . τί κάλλιον ἀρχομένοισιν¹
καὶ² καταπανομένοις ἢ τὸ ποθεινότατον ;

7

Arist. *Rhet.* 1405a 31 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς συλλαβαῖς ἁμαρτία,
ἐὰν μὴ ἡδείας ἢ σημεῖα φωνῆς, οἷον Διονύσιος προσαγορεύει ὁ
Χαλκοῦς ἐν τοῖς Ἑλεγείοις

κραυγὴν Καλλιόπης

τὴν ποιήσιν, ὅτι ἄμψω φωναί φωνὴ δὲ ἡ μεταφορὰ †ταῖς ἀσήμεοις
φωναῖς †³

¹ Cas mss -νοῖς ² E. mss ἢ (emendation of καὶ lost
before κατα). ³ ταῖς ἀηδέσι φωναῖς⁹

DIONYSIUS CHALCUS

6

The Same [*end of the book*] These things, dear Timocrates, are not, in the words of Plato,¹ the mere games or jests of a Socrates still young and handsome, but the serious disputations of the Doctors at Dinner, for, to quote Dionysius the Brazen,

Whether you are at the beginning or the ending,
what is better than what you most desire?

7

Aristotle *Rhetoric* A fault may be also made in syllables, namely if they do not represent a pleasant sound, as for instance Dionysius the Brazen in his *Elegiacs* calls poetry

the screech of Calliopè

because both poetry and that screech are sounds;² but the metaphor is a poor one because of the unpleasant sounds.³

¹ *Epistle* 2 314c ² *i e* and is so far correct in using this metaphor ³ reading and translation doubtful

ΕΤΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

ΕΠΙΚΗΔΕΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ

Vit. Eur. Εὐριπίδης ὁ ποιητῆς υἱὸς ἐγένετο Μνησάρχου καπήλου καὶ Κλειτοῦς λαχανοπώλιδος, Ἀθηναῖος μὲν, ἐγεννήθη δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ἐπὶ Καλλιάρχου ἄρχοντος, κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν Ὀλυμπιάδα, ὅτε ἐνανμάχθησαν τοῖς Πέρσiais οἱ Ἕλληνες. ἤρξατο δὲ διδάσκειν ἐπὶ Καλλίου ἄρχοντος κατὰ Ὀλυμπιάδα παῖς ἔτει α΄. . . τὰ πάντα δ' ἦν αὐτῷ δράματα λβ, σφύζεται δὲ οἷον. ἐτελεύτησε δέ, ὥς φησι Φιλόχορος, ὑπὲρ τὰ οἷον ἔτη γεγονώς, ὥς δὲ Ἐρατοσθένης, οἷον, καὶ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ ἐτάφη.

1

ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΤΩ ΕΝ ΣΙΚΕΛΙΑΙ ΑΠΟΘΑΝΟΝΤΑΣ

Plut. *Nic* 17 ὁ μὲν γὰρ Εὐριπίδης μετὰ τὴν ἡττάν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν ὄλεθρον γράφων ἐπικήδειον ἐποίησεν

Οἶδε Συρακοσίους ὀκτὼ νίκας ἐκράτησαν
ἄνδρες, ὅτ' ἦν τὰ θεῶν ἐξ ἴσου ἀμφοτέροις.

2

Ath 2 61b [π. μυκήτων] Ἐπαρχίδης Εὐριπίδην φησὶ τὸν ποιητὴν ἐπιδημῆσαι τῇ Ἰκάρῳ, καὶ γυναικὸς τινος μετὰ τέκνων κατὰ τοὺς ἀγρούς, δυο μὲν ἄρρένων τελείων, μιᾷ δὲ παρθένου, φαγούσης θαλασσίμους μύκητας καὶ ἀποπνιγέσης μετὰ τῶν τέκνων, ποιῆσαι τοῦτ' ἐπίγραμμα

ὦ τὸν ἀγήραντον πόλον αἰθέρος Ἥλιε τέμνων,
ἄρ' εἶδες τοιόνδ' ὄμματι¹ πρόσθε πάθος,
μητέρα παρθευικὴν τε κόρην δισσοῦς τε συναίμους
ἐν ταύτῳ φέγγει μοιραδίῳ² φθιμένους;

¹ B ὄμμασι

² mss also -ριδίω

¹ The *Parian Chronicle* gives for his birth 485, for his first victory (aged 44) 442, for his death 407 ² for examples of 458

EURIPIDES

LAMENT AND INSCRIPTION

Life of Euripides The poet Euripides was the son of a shop-keeper Mnesarchus and a greengrocer Cleito, an Athenian, but born at Salamis in the archonship of Calliades (480 B.C.) in the 75th Olympiad, when the Greeks fought the Persians at sea . . . He brought out his first play in the archonship of Callias (456 B.C.). The number of his dramas amounted in all to 902, of which 78 are extant. He died according to Philochorus at over seventy years of age, according to Eratosthenes at seventy-five, and was buried in Macedonia.¹

1

LAMENT FOR THE ATHENIANS WHO FELL IN SICILY

Plutarch *Life of Nicias* After their defeat and destruction Euripides composed a lament or epitaph

These men won eight victories over the Syracusans when the favour of the Gods was equal for both sides.

2

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner* [on mushrooms] According to Eparchides, the poet Euripides was once staying in the isle of Icaros, when a certain woman and her children, two grown-up sons and one unmarried daughter, all died of poisonous mushrooms which they ate in the fields, whereupon he composed the following inscription .

O Sun whose path lies through the unaging vault of heaven, did thy eye ever behold so sad a thing as a mother and a maiden daughter and two sons perishing on the same destined day? ²

E's use of Elegy in tragedy see Eur. *Andr.* 103 ff and *Lyra Graeca* iii 663, and for the lyric poem to Alcibiades *Ibid* 240

ΑΛΚΙΒΙΑΔΟΥ

ΕΛΕΓΕΙΟΝ

Suid. Ἀλκιβιάδης υἱὸς Κλεινίου . Ἀθηναῖος, φιλόσοφος καὶ ῥήτωρ, μαθητὴς πρῶτον Σωφίλου, εἶτα Σωκράτους, οὗ καὶ ἐρώμενος, ὥς τινες . οὗτος ἐστρατήγησεν Ἀθηναίων καὶ λυπηθεὶς διὰ τὸ ἐκπεσεῖν αὐτὸν τῆς στρατηγίας τῆς τῶν Ἑρμῶν ἀποκοπῆς ἔνεκα, καὶ ἀποστὰς πρὸς Τισαφέρνην τὸν Πέρσῃν καὶ πολέμου αἷτιος γενόμενος Ἀθηναίοις, πάλιν αὐτοῖς εὖνους ἐγένετο .

Thuc 6 15 ἐνήγε δὲ προθυμότατα τὴν στρατείαν Ἀλκιβιάδης ὁ Κλεινίου, βουλόμενος τῷ τε Νικίᾳ ἐναντιοῦσθαι, ὧν καὶ ἐς τᾶλλα διάφορος τὰ πολιτικὰ καὶ ὅτι αὐτοῦ διαβόλως ἐμνήσθη, καὶ μάλιστα στρατηγήσαι τὴν ἐπιθυμῶν καὶ ἐλπίζων Σικελίαν τε δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ Καρχηδὸνα λήψεσθαι καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἅμα εὐτυχήσας χρήμασί τε καὶ δόξῃ ὠφελήσῃν ὧν γὰρ ἐν ἀξιώματι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστῶν, ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις μείζουσιν ἢ κατὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν οὐσίαν ἐχρήτο ἐς τε τὰς ἵπποτροφίας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας δαπάνας ὕπερ καὶ καθέλειεν ὕστερον τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν οὐχ ἥκιστα φοβηθέντες γὰρ αὐτοῦ οἱ πολλοὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τε κατὰ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα παρανομίας ἐς τὴν δίκαιαν καὶ τῆς διανοίας ὧν καθ' ἐν ἑκάστον ἐν ὅτῳ γίγνοιτο ἔπρασσεν, ὥς τυραννίδος ἐπιθυμοῦντι πολέμιοι καθέστασαν· καὶ δημοσίᾳ κράτιστα διαθέντι τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἰδίᾳ ἑκάστοι τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν αὐτοῦ ἀχθεσθέντες, καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπιτρέψαντες, οὐ διὰ μακροῦ ἐσφηλαν τὴν πόλιν.

Diod Sic 14 11 τούτων δὲ πραττομένων, Φαρνάβαζος ὁ Δαρείου τοῦ βασιλέως σατράπης Ἀλκιβιάδην τὸν Ἀθηναῖον συλλαβὼν ἀνείλε, χαρίσασθαι βουλόμενος Λακεδαιμονίοις

ALCIBIADES

ELEGIAC VERSES

Suidas *Lexicon* Alcibiades —Son of Cleinias . . an Athenian, philosopher and orator (*that is*, politician), pupil first of Sophilus, later of Socrates, of whom some say he was the bosom-friend He became general of the Athenians, and in his grief at losing the generalship on account of the mutilation of the Hermae, withdrew to Tissaphernes the Persian and caused war between him and Athens, afterwards becoming reconciled with his country . .

Thucydides *Histories* The Sicilian Expedition found a warm supporter in Alcibiades son of Cleinias, who desired both to oppose Nicias not only because he differed from him politically but because he had slandered him, and, which was dearer to him still, to have the command and thus be instrumental, as he hoped, in conquering Sicily and Carthage, and benefit personally by his success both in wealth and reputation Being highly thought of by his fellow-countrymen, he had a greater ambition than his income justified with respect both to the rearing of race-horses and to other expensive pursuits And this it was which more than anything else eventually caused the downfall of Athens For alarmed by his commanding figure and the unconventionality of his private life, as well as by the genius he displayed in every detail of whatever came to hand, the common people, believing him to be desirous of the supreme power, became his enemies, and thus though he was eminently successful publicly in the prosecution of the war, they each and all were incensed at his private conduct, and by intrusting their future to other hands, quickly brought ruin on their country

Diodorus of Sicily *Historical Library* : It was while these events took place¹ that Pharnabazus the satrap of King Darius took and slew the Athenian Alcibiades to ingratiate himself with the Spartans

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

ΕΙΣ ΕΥΠΟΛΙΝ

Sch Aristid 3 444 ἐκωμῶδουν ὀνομαστὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας μέχρις
Εὐπόλιδος περιεῖλε δὲ τοῦτο Ἄλκ βιάδης ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ ῥήτωρ
κωμωδηθεὶς γὰρ παρὰ Εὐπόλιδος ἔρριψεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ ἐν
Σικελίᾳ συστρατευόμενον εἰπὼν

Βάπτε μὲν ἐν θυμέλῃσί μ',¹ ἐγὼ δέ σε κύμασι
πόντου
βαπτίζων ὀλέσω νάμασι πικροτέροις.²

¹ B: mss β με ἐν θ.

² mss -τάτοις, as often

ALCIBIADES

ON EUPOLIS

Scholiast on Aristides The poets satirised citizens by name down to the time of Eupolis, but the custom was abolished by the soldier and politician Alcibiades, who, having been satirised by Eupolis, threw the poet into the sea when he was campaigning with him in Sicily, saying :

Douse me, you, among the altars,¹ and I'll give you a more unpleasant and more fatal dousing in the waves of the sea.²

¹ i.e. the *orchestra* of the theatre ² cf. CIC. *Att* 6.1 18
'Everybody said that Eupolis the poet of the Old Comedy was thrown into the sea by Alcibiades on the voyage to Sicily; Eratosthenes disproves it by adducing the plays he brought out afterwards', but the ducking may not have been fatal

ΑΓΑΘΩΝΟΣ

ΕΛΕΓΕΙΟΝ

Sch Plat. *Symp.* 172a Ἀγάθων τραγωδίας ποιητῆς εἰς μαλακίαν σκωπτόμενος Ἀριστόφανει τῷ Γηρυτάδῃ ἦν δὲ Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Ἀθηναίου υἱός, παιδικὰ γεγονώς Πανσανίου τοῦ τραγικοῦ, μεθ' οὗ πρὸς Ἀρχέλαον τὸν βασιλέα ᾤχετο, ὡς Μαρσύας ὁ νεώτερος ἐμμεῖτο δὲ τὴν κομψότητα τῆς λέξεως Γοργίου τοῦ ῥήτορος

Ath 5 217a ὁ μὲν γὰρ (Ἀγάθων) ἐπὶ ἔρχοντος Εὐφήμου στεφανοῦται Ληναίοις.

Plat *Symp.* 194a ἐπιλήσμων μεντὰν εἶην, ὃ Ἀγάθων, εἰπεῖν τὸν Σωκράτη, εἰ ἰδὼν τὴν σὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνην ἀναβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὸν ὀκρίβαντα μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν, καὶ βλέψαντος ἐναντία τοσοῦτ' ἀθέτρω, μέλλοντος ἐπιδείξεσθαι σαυτοῦ λόγους, καὶ οὐδ' ὁπωστιοῦν ἐκπλαγέντος, νῦν οἴηθείην σε θορυβήσεσθαι ἕνεκα ἡμῶν ὀλίγων ἀνθρώπων.

Stob *Ecl* 1 8 6 [π χρόνου οὐσίας] Ἀγάθωνος

Ὡφελεν ὡς ἀφανῆς οὕτω φανερώτατος εἶναι
καιρός, ὃς αὐξάνεται πλείστον ἀπ' εὐλαβίης.

AGATHON

ELEGIAC COUPLET

Scholast on Plato *Symposium* Agathon.—A writer of tragedy ridiculed for his effeminacy by Aristophanes in the *Gerytades*, he was a son of Tisamenus the Athenian, and became the bosom-friend of the tragic poet Pausanias, with whom, according to the younger Marsyas, he withdrew to the court of Archelaus. He imitated the elegant style of the orator Gorgias.

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner*. Agathon won at the Lenaean Festival in the archonship of Euphemus (417 B.C.)

Plato *Symposium* 'I should really be a forgetful man, Agathon,' said Socrates, 'if after seeing your courage and self-assurance when you mounted the platform with the actors and faced so large a house, ready to give your declamation, without showing the least sign of nervousness, I should now expect you to be discomposed in the presence of this little company.'

Stobaeus *Physical Extracts* [on the nature of time].
Agathon —

Would that Opportunity, which grows best in the soil of discretion, were as clear to view as it is obscure!

ΕΘΝΟΤ

Βίος

Plat. *Ap. Socr.* 20 a ἔτυχον γὰρ προσελθὼν ἀνδρὶ ὃς τετέλεκε χρήματα σοφισταῖς πλείω ἢ σύμπαντες οἱ ἄλλοι, Καλλία τῷ Ἰππονίκου· τοῦτον οὖν ἀνηρόμην—ἐστὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ δύο ὑεῖ—
' . . . Τίνα αὐτοῖν ἐν νῷ ἔχεις ἐπιστάτην λαβεῖν ; τίς τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρετῆς, τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης τε καὶ πολιτικῆς, ἐπιστήμων ἐστίν ; . . . "Εστὶν τις" ἔφην ἐγὼ ' ἢ οὐ ; ' ' Πάνυ γε ' ἦ δ' ὅς. ' Τίς ' ἦν δ' ἐγὼ ' καὶ ποδαπός, καὶ πόσου διδάσκει ; ' ' Εὐηνος ' ἔφη ' ὦ Σώκρατες, Πάριος, πέντε μυνῶν.'

Ibid. *Phaed.* 60 d.

Ibid. *Phaedr* 266 c ΦΑΙΔΡΟΣ καὶ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ·

ΣΩ. λεκτέον δὲ τί μέντοι καὶ ἔστι τὸ λειπόμενον τῆς ῥητορικῆς —ΦΑΙ. Καὶ μάλα που συχνά, ὦ Σώκρατες, τά γ' ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις τοῖς περὶ λόγων τέχνης γεγραμμένοις . . —ΣΩ. τὸν δὲ κάλλιστον Πάριον Εὐηνὸν ἐς μέσον οὐκ ἄγομεν, ὃς ὑποδήλωσιν τε πρῶτος ἠὔρεν καὶ παρεπαίνους—οἱ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ παραψόγους φασὶν ἐν μέτρῳ λέγειν μνήμης χάριν—σοφὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ.

EUENUS¹

LIFE

Plato *Defence of Socrates*: I chanced one day to meet a man who has paid more to the sophists than all the others put together, Callias son of Hipponicus; and I asked him—it seems he has two sons—the following question. ‘ . Into whose care do you intend to give them? Who has the expert knowledge of virtue [or excellence] of the kind I have mentioned, the human and political? . . Is there anyone possessed of this virtue or not?’ ‘ Certainly,’ he replied. ‘ Who is he?’ asked I, ‘ and of what country?’ and what does he charge for his teaching?’ ‘ Euenus, Socrates,’ he replied, ‘ of Paros, and his fee is twenty pounds’

The Same *Phaedo* (see on Socrates p 494).

The Same *Phaedrus*. PHAEDRUS and SOCRATES — S. But we must say what the thing remaining to make oratory really is.—P There’s plenty about it surely, Socrates, in the books on the art of words . . —S We don’t adduce the excellent Euenus of Paros, who discovered subordinate explanation and incidental eulogy—and some people say that he recites incidental invective in verse to aid his memory—for he’s an accomplished fellow.

¹ or more properly Evenus

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

Harpocr. Εὐήνος· Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ Κατ' Αὐτοκλέους. δύο ἀναγράφουσιν Εὐήνους ἐλεγείων ποιητάς, ὁμωνύμους ἀλλήλοις, καθάπερ Ἑρατοσθένης ἐν τῷ Περὶ Χρονογραφιῶν, ἀμφοτέρους λέγων Παρίους εἶναι· γνωρίζεσθαι δέ φησιν τὸν νεώτερον μόνον μέμνηται δὲ θατέρου αὐτῶν καὶ Πλάτων.

Max. Tyr. 38 4 καὶ οὐδὲ αὕτη σοι (ἡ Ἀσπασία τῷ Σωκράτει) ἀρκεῖ διδάσκαλος, ἀλλ' ἐρανίζῃ παρὰ μὲν Διοτίμας τὰ ἐρωτικά, παρὰ δὲ Κόννου τὰ μουσικά, παρὰ δὲ Εὐήνου τὰ ποιητικά, παρὰ δὲ Ἰσχομάχον τὰ γεωργικά, παρὰ τε Θεοδώρου τὰ γεωμετρικά.

Eus. *Chron Vers Arm* Ol. 80 1

Suid Φίλιστος· Ναυκρατίτης ἢ Συρακόσιος . . μαθητὴς δὲ ἦν Εὐηνου τοῦ ἐλεγειοποιου. ὃς πρῶτος κατὰ τὴν ῥητορικὴν τέχνην ἱστορίαν ἔγραψε.

Quint 1 10. 17 Transeamus igitur id quoque, quod grammaticae quondam ac musicae iunctae fuerunt; siquidem Archytas atque Evenus etiam subiectam grammaticen musicae putaverunt, et eosdem utriusque rei praeceptores fuisse cum Sophron ostendit tum Eupolis . .

Artemid. i. 4 τὸ ζῶον τὸ καλούμενον κάμηλος μέσους κάμπτει τοὺς μηροὺς ἐπιτεμνόμενον τοῖν σκελοῖν τὸ ὕψος, ἐτύμως κεκλημένον κάμηλος οἶονεὶ κάμμηρος, ὥς φησιν Εὐήνος ἐν τοῖς εἰς Εὐνομον Ἑρωτικοῖς

LIFE OF EUENUS

Harpocration *Lexicon to the Attic Orators* : Euenus.—Hyperides in the speech *Against Autocles*. The list contains two elegiac poets of this name, according to Eratosthenes' work *On the Annals*, who makes them both Parians, but states that the younger alone was famous. One of them is mentioned by Plato.

Maximus of Tyre *Dissertations* : And not even she (Aspasia) gives you (Socrates) teaching enough, but you must needs lay Diotima under contribution in learning the art of love, and Connus in music, and Euenus in poetry, and Ischomachus in agriculture, and Theodorus in geometry.

Eusebius *Chronicle* (gives Euenus' *floruit* as 460 B.C.).

Suidas *Lexicon* . Philistus.—Of Naucratis or Syracuse. He was a pupil of the elegiac poet Euenus, and wrote the first history written according to the art of rhetoric.

Quintilian *Elements of Oratory* : Let us pass over another point, that grammar and music were once combined—though indeed Archytas, and Euenus too, considered grammar subordinate, and that the same taught both is proved not only by Sophron . . . but by Eupolis

Artemidorus *Interpretation of Dreams* . The animal known as the camel bends its thighs in the middle and thus reduces the length of its legs, being quite properly called κάμηλος, that is to say κάμμηρος or *bend-thigh*, as we are told by Euenus in his *Erotica to Eunomus* .

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

Arr. *Diss. Epict.* 4. 9. 6 ἀντὶ Χρυσίππου καὶ Ζήνωνος Ἀριστείδην ἀναγιγνώσκεις καὶ Εὐήνον. οὐδὲν ἀπολώλεκας ;

Auson. *Cent. Nupt. ad fin.* [de lascivia paginae suae] · nam quid Anniani Fescenninos ? quid antiquissimi poetae Laevii Erotopaegnion libros loquar ? quid Evenum, quem Menander sapientem vocavit ? quid ipsum Menandrum ? quid comicos omnes, quibus severa vita est et laeta materia ?

ETHNOT

ΕΛΕΓΕΙΟΝ

1

Ath 9. 367 e σιωπῶντος οὖν τοῦ Οὐλπιανοῦ, ‘Ἄλλ’ ἐγὼ φησὶν ὁ Λεωνίδης ‘εἰπεῖν εἰμι δίκαιος πολλὰ ἤδη σιωπήσας’ Πολλοῖς δ’ ἀντιλέγειν κατὰ τὸν Πάριον Εὐήνον ἔθος, ἔκτλ

Πολλοῖς ἀντιλέγειν μὲν¹ ἔθος περὶ παντὸς ὁμοίως, ὀρθῶς δ’ ἀντιλέγειν, οὐκέτι τοῦτ’ ἐν ἔθει· καὶ πρὸς μὲν τούτους ἀρκεῖ λόγος εἰς ὁ παλαιός· ‘Σοὶ μὲν ταῦτα δοκοῦντ’ ἔστω, ἐμοὶ δὲ τάδε.’ τοὺς ξυνετοὺς δ’ ἂν τις πείσειε τάχιστα λέγων εὖ, οἵπερ καὶ ῥάστης εἰσὶ διδασκαλίας.

2

Anth. Pal 11 49 Εὐήνου.²

Βάκχου μέτρον ἄριστον ὃ μὴ πολλὸν μηδ’ ἐλάχιστον· ἔστι γὰρ ἢ λύπης αἴτιος ἢ μανίης. χαίρει κιρνάμενος τρισὶ Νύμφαις τέτρατος αὐτός.³ τῆμος καὶ θαλάμοις ἐστὶν ἐτοιμότητος

¹ Ath omits ² mss Εὐήνου (*Plan* ἄδηλον) *Plan*: *Pal* δὲ τρισὶν Ν τέτρατος

³ so

EUENUS

Arrian *Dissertations of Epictetus*: Instead of Chrysippus and Zeno you read Aristeides and Euenus. Have you lost nothing thereby?

Ausonius *Cento Nuptialis* [on the naughtiness of his writings]: Why mention the *Fescennines* of Annianus, or the *Love-Jests* of that ancient poet Laevius? or Euenus, who was called wise by Menander himself? or all the comedy-writers, whose life is austere and their subject frivolous?

EUENUS

ELEGIAC POEMS

1

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner*¹ Ulpian making no reply, Leonides exclaimed 'My long silence entitles me to speak, and, to quote Euenus of Paros'

Many a man will contradict on all and every matter, and care not whether his contradiction be just. For such the old answer is enough, *Be that your opinion and this mine*. But a good argument will quickly persuade men of sense, for these are easy pupils²

2

Palatine Anthology Euenus³ —

The best measure of Bacchus is neither much nor very little, for he is the cause either of inspiration or of pain. He rejoiceth when he maketh four with three Nymphs;⁴ then too is he most apt for the

¹ cf Stob *Fl* 82. 3 (1-4), Ath 10 429f (4) ² *lit.* are matter of easy teaching, cf Plat *Gorg.* 461a οὐκ ὀλίγη συνοουσία ἐστὶν ὥστε ἱκανῶς διασκεψασθαι ³ in the *Planudean Anthology* called 'Anonymous' ⁴ i. e. wine is best mixed with three parts of water

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

εἰ δὲ πολλὺς πνεύσειεν, ἀπέστραπται μὲν ἔρωτας,
βαπτίζει δ' ὕπνῳ γείτονι τοῦ θανάτου.

3

Stob. *Fl. App* 4 10 M [π τῷ δοκεῖν καὶ τοῦ εἶναι].
Εὐήνου¹

Ἡγοῦμαι σοφίας εἶναι μέρος οὐκ ἐλάχιστον
ὀρθῶς γιγνώσκειν οἷος ἕκαστος ἀνὴρ.

4

Stob. *Fl.* 51 17 [π τόλμης] Εὐήνου.

Πρὸς σοφίᾳ μὲν ἔχειν τόλμαν μάλα σύμφορόν
ἐστίν,
χωρὶς δὲ βλαβερὴ καὶ κακότητα φέρει

5

Ibid. 20 2 [π ὀργῆς] Εὐήνου.

Πολλάκις ἀνθρώπων ὀργὴ νόον ἐξεκάλυψεν
κρυπτόμενον, μανίας πούλῳ χερειότερον.²

6

Plut *Am Pro* 4 οὐκ ἐπέιδε τὴν Σαλαμῖνα Νεοκλῆς τὴν
Θεμιστοκλέους οὐδὲ τὸν Εὐρυμέδουτα Μιλτιάδης τὸν Κίμωνος οὐδ'
ἤκουσε Περικλέους Ξάνθιππος δημηγοροῦντας οὐδ' Ἀρίστων Πλά-
τωνος φιλοσοφοῦντας, οὐδ' Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους νίκας οἱ
πατέρες ἔγνωσαν ψελλιζόντων καὶ συλλαβιζόντων ἠκροῶντο καὶ
κώμους καὶ πότους καὶ ἔρωτας αὐτῶν οἷζα νέοι > ἄνθρωποι³
πλημμελούντων ἐπέιδον· ὥστ' ἐπαινεῖσθαι καὶ μνημονεύεσθαι τοῦ
Εὐήνου τοῦτο μόνον, ὡς ἐπέγραψεν

ἡ δέος ἡ λύπη παῖς πατρὶ πάντα χρόνον.

ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐ παύονται παῖδας τρέφοντες, μάλιστα δ' οἱ παίδων
ἤκιστα δεόμενοι

¹ Bach: mss ηνου corr to Ζήνου (whence Gais Ζηνοδότου)

² Grot mss πολὺ χειρ ³ cf Dem. *Con.* 14. mss οἱ ἄνθρωποι

EUENUS

bedchamber. But if he blow too strong, then doth he turn aside from our loves and plungeth us in a sleep that is neighbour unto death.

3

Stobaeus *Anthology* [on seeming and being]. [Eu]enus —

Methinks it is by no means the least part of wisdom to read aright the nature of every man.

4

Stobaeus *Anthology* [on courage]. Euenus —

Daring with wisdom is of great advantage, but daring alone is harmful and bringeth badness.

5

The Same [on anger]: Euenus —

Often the anger of men unveils a hidden mind much worse than madness.

6

Plutarch *Love of Offspring*. Neocles never saw Themistocles' Salamis, nor Miltiades Cimon's Eurymedon, nor did Xanthippus hear Pericles' orations, nor Ariston Plato's disquisitions, nor did their fathers know of the victories of Euripides and Sophocles. They heard them lisping and learning their syllables, and they saw them indulging themselves in the revels, carousals and wenchings natural to youth, so that the only line of Euenus that is praised or quoted is —

Son to father is ever either a fear or a pain.

But for all that, fathers do not cease to rear children, and those least of all, who least require them ¹

¹ cf. Artemid. *On* 1. 15, Hermias on Plat. *Phaedr.* 266d p 238 (φόβος for δέος)

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

7

Arist. π' Ἀρετ καὶ Κακ 1251a (= Stob. *Fl* i. 18) ἀδικίας δέ ἐστιν εἶδη τρία· ἀσέβεια, πλεονεξία, ὕβρις . . ὕβρις δέ, καθ' ἣν τὰς ἡδονὰς αὐτοῖς παρασκευάζουσιν εἰς ὕναιδος ἄγοντες ἑτέρους ὄθεν καὶ Εὐηνος περὶ αὐτῆς λέγει·

. <ὕβρις,>
ἥ τις κερδαίνουσ' οὐδὲν ὅμως ἀδικεῖ.

8

Arist. *Met* 1015a. 28 τὸ γὰρ βίαιον ἀναγκαῖον λέγεται, διὰ καὶ λυπηρόν, ὥσπερ καὶ Εὐηνός φησι

πάν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον πρᾶγμ' ἀνιάρων ἔφυ.¹

ΕΠΩΝ

9

Ibid. *Eth. Nic* 1152a 30 διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ ἔθος χαλεπόν, ὅτι τῇ φύσει ἔοικεν, ὥσπερ καὶ Εὐηνός λέγει

Φημὶ πολυχρονίην μελέτην ἔμεναι, φίλε, καὶ δὴ ταύτην ἀνθρώποισι τελευτῶσαν φύσιν εἶναι.

IAMBΩΝ

9A

Simpl. in *Phys* 4. 12 221a 30 ὁ δὲ Σιμωνίδης τὸ σοφώτατον τῷ χρόνῳ περιῆψε Εὐηνός δὲ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν πεποίηκε τό·

Σοφώτατόν τοι κάμαθέστατον χρόνος.²

¹ Theogn. χρῆμ' ἀνιάρων ἔφυ

² Maas. mss χρόνον

¹ cf. *Eth. Eud.* 1223a 31, *Rhet* 1370a 10, Plut. *Suav. Viv* 21, Alex. Aphr. in *Met* 4 5 1015a 20, for the whole poem of

EUENUS

7

Aristotle *Virtues and Vices*: Of Injustice or Unrighteousness there are three kinds, impiety, covetousness, and *hubris* the spirit of wanton outrage . . . , the last being that whereby men make pleasure for themselves by bringing dishonour upon others, or in the words of Euenus .

. . . [*Hubris*], which doeth wrong albeit she profit nothing.

8

The Same *Metaphysics*. For what is forced is called necessary, and therefore is painful, as Euenus says .

All that is forced giveth pain.¹

EPIC POEMS

9

The Same *Nicomachean Ethics* It is just this that makes habit so troublesome, namely that it resembles nature, as Euenus says :

I say that practice is long, friend, aye, and in the end is nature²

IAMBIC POEMS

9A

Simplicius on Aristotle . Simonides makes time the wisest of things , . . Euenus combines the two in this

Time is the wisest and the foolishhest of things.³

30 ll see THEOGNIS 467 ff. ² *but* and in the end nature is this for men cf Heliod *ad loc.* ³ the ascription is doubted because there is no other evidence that E. wrote iambs

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

10

Plut *Qui Platon* 10 3 [π. συνδέσμων καὶ ἄρθρων καὶ προθέσεων] Τί οὖν, φήσαι τις ἂν, οὐδὲν ταῦτα συμβάλλεται πρὸς λόγῳν, ἔγωγε φήσαιμ' ἂν ὥσπερ ἄλλας συμβάλλεσθαι πρὸς ὕψον ὕδωρ δὲ πρὸς μᾶζαν. Εὐηνος δὲ καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἔφασκεν ἡδυσμάτων εἶναι κράτιστον ἀλλ' οὐθ' ὕδωρ μάζης ἢ ἄρτου μέρος εἶναι λέγομεν, οὐτε πῦρ οὐθ' ἄλλας ἐψήματος ἢ βρώματος, ὧν ἀεὶ τυγχάνομεν δεόμενοι.

EUENUS

10

Plutarch *Questions on Plato* [on conjunctions, the article, and prepositions] Why then, it may be asked, are not these things reckoned as part of a statement? My answer is that they partake of it merely as salt partakes of a dish of meat, or water of a cake of bread Euenus indeed declared that fire is the finest of sauces, yet we do not call water a part of any particular cake or loaf, or fire or salt part of any particular dish we may order

ΚΡΙΤΙΟΤ

Βίος

Xen. Mem. 1 2. 12 ἀλλ', ἔφη γε ὁ κατήγορος, Σωκράτει ὁμιλητὰ γενομένῳ Κριτίας τε καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης πλεῖστα κακὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐποίησά-την. Κριτίας μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ πάντων πλεονεκτίστατός τε καὶ βιαιότατος ἐγένετο, Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ αὖ τῶν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ πάντων ἀκρατέστατός τε καὶ ὑβριστότατος.

Ibid. 30 . . λέγεται τὸν Σωκράτην ἄλλων τε πολλῶν παρόντων καὶ τοῦ Εὐθυδήμου εἰπεῖν ὅτι ὑικὸν αὐτῷ δοκοίη πάσχειν ὁ Κριτίας, ἐπιθυμῶν Εὐθυδήμῳ προσκνηῆσθαι ὥσπερ τὰ ὑῖδια τοῖς λίθοις. ἐξ ὧν δὴ καὶ ἐμίσει τὸν Σωκράτην ὁ Κριτίας, ὥστε καὶ ὅτε τῶν τριάκοντα ὧν νομοθέτης μετὰ Χαρικλέους ἐγένετο, ἀπεμνημόνευσεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἔγραψε λόγων τέχνην μὴ διδάσκειν, ἐπηρεάζων ἐκείνῳ καὶ οὐκ ἔχων ὅπῃ ἐπιλάβοιτο, ἀλλὰ τὸ κοινῇ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιτιμώμενον ἐπιφέρων αὐτῷ καὶ διαβάλλων πρὸς τοὺς πολλούς.

Id Hell. 2. 3. 1 τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει . . ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ τριάκοντα ἄνδρας ἐλέσθαι, οἱ ¹ νόμους συγγράψουσι καθ' οὓς πολιτεύσουσι. καὶ ἡρέθησαν οἷδε· Πολυχάρης, Κριτίας, Μηλόβιος, κτλ.

¹ Nauck mss insert τοὺς πατρίους

CRITIAS

LIFE

Xenophon *Memorials of Socrates* : But, said the accuser, the association of Critias and Alcibiades with Socrates brought manifold misfortune upon the city. For Critias was the most covetous and violent of all the oligarchs, and Alcibiades the most incontinent and wantonly wicked of all the democrats.¹

The Same . It is said that in the presence of a large company including Euthydemus, Socrates once remarked that Critias was like a pig because he desired to use Euthydemus as little pigs use stones. From that time forth Critias hated Socrates, so much so that when he and Charicles became legislators for the Thirty, he bore the rebuke in mind and included in the code a law forbidding the teaching of the art of words—thus by way of doing him the ill turn, when he had no means of laying hands on him, of bringing him under the general prejudice against all philosophers and thus damaging him in the eyes of the world

The Same *Hellenica* . In the following year (404 B C) . the people decreed that thirty men should be elected to make laws by which they should conduct the government, and the following citizens were chosen : Polychares, Critias, Melobius, etc

¹ cf. Ibid. 13, 14, 16, 24, 29, 31, Andoc. i. 47, Dem. 58. 67

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Ibid 2. 4 19 ἀπέθανον δ' ἐνταῦθα τῶν τριάκοντα Κριτίας τε καὶ Ἰππόμαχος.

Plut *Sup* 13 τί δέ; Καρχηδονίοις οὐκ ἔλυσι-
τέλει Κριτίαν λαβοῦσιν ἢ Διαγόραν νομοθέτην
ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, μήτε τινὰ δαιμόνων μήτε θεῶν νομίζειν
ἢ τοιαῦτα θύειν οἷα τῷ Κρόνῳ ἔθουν;

Diog L 3 1 Σόλωνος γὰρ ἦν ἀδελφὸς
Δρωπίδης . . οὗ Κριτίας ὁ τῶν τριάκοντα

Ath. 4. 184 d Χαμαιλέων γοῦν ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης
ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Προτρεπτικῷ Λακεδαιμονίους
φησὶ καὶ Θηβαίους πάντας αὐλεῖν μανθάνειν .
Ἀθηναίων τε τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους, Καλλιάν τε
τὸν Ἰππονίκου καὶ Κριτίαν τὸν Καλλαίσχρου

Plat *Charm* 157 e ΣΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ καὶ ΧΑΡΜΙΔΗΣ·

ΣΩ. ἥ τε γὰρ πατρώα ὑμῖν οἰκία ἢ Κριτίου τοῦ
Δρωπίδου καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀνακρέοντος καὶ ὑπὸ Σόλωνος
καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων πολλῶν ποιητῶν ἐγκεκωμιασμένη
παραδέδοται ἡμῖν.

Ath 11 496 b . . ὁ τὸν Πειρίθουν γράψας, εἶτε
Κριτίας ἐστὶν ὁ τύραννος ἢ Εὐριπίδης

Hermog *Rh. Gr* 2 415 Spengel [π. Κριτίου].
ἔστι γὰρ καὶ οὗτος σεμνὸς μὲν παραπλησίως τῷ
Ἀντιφῶντι καὶ διηρμένος πρὸς ὄγκον καὶ τὰ
480

LIFE OF CRITIAS

The Same: There perished (at Munychia, fighting against Thrasybulus and the exiles), of the Thirty, Critias and Hippomachus¹

Plutarch *On Superstition*. Well? would it not have paid the Carthaginians to take Critias or Diagoras at the outset to make their laws, and believe in neither Gods nor spirits nor offer the sacrifices they offered to Cronus?²

Diogenes Laertius *Lives of the Philosophers*: Solon had a brother Dropides . . . ancestor of Critias the member of the Thirty.²

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner*: According to Chamaeleon of Heraclea in the book entitled *Protrepticus*, the Spartans and Thebans all learnt to play the flute, . . . and the most famous Athenians, such as Callias son of Hipponicus and Critias son of Callaeschrus.

Plato *Charmides* SOCRATES and CHARMIDES:—S. The fame of your father's family, the house of Critias son of Dropides, has come down to us crowned with the praises accorded it by Anacreon, Solon, and many other poets.

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner*: . . . the author of the *Peirithous*, whether it is Critias the Tyrant or Euripides.³

Hermogenes [on Critias]: He too is almost as stately as Antiphon, being exalted and also frequently

¹ cf. *Ibid* 3 15, 18, 36, 4. 8, 10, 11, *Lys.* 12 43 ² Plato's mother belonged to the same family ³ for the fragments of C's dramas see Diels *Vorsokr.* 2 316 ff.

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πολλὰ λέγων ἀποφαντικῶς, καθαρώτερος δὲ τὴν λέξιν, καὶ ὅτε παραβάλλοι διευκρινῶν, ὥστε εἶναι καὶ σαφὴς ἅμα τῷ μεγέθει καὶ εὐκρινῆς. ἔχει δὲ πολλαχοῦ καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς Δημηγορικοῖς Προοιμίοις καὶ τὸ ἀληθινόν τε καὶ πιθανόν.

Arist *Anim* i 2 ἕτεροι δὲ (τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι ἀπεφάναντο) αἷμα, καθάπερ Κριτίας

Ath. 11. 463 e τρόποι εἰσὶ πόσεων κατὰ πόλεις ἴδιοι, ὡς Κριτίας παρίστησιν ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων Πολιτείᾳ διὰ τούτων· ‘Ὁ μὲν Χῖος καὶ Θάσιος ἐκ μεγάλων κυλίκων ἐπιδέξια, ὁ δ’ Ἀττικὸς ἐκ μικρῶν ἐπιδέξια, ὁ δὲ Θετταλικὸς κτλ.’

Sch Plat *Tim.* 20 a ὁ δὲ Κριτίας ἦν μὲν γεφυραῖος καὶ ἀδράς φύσεως, ἤπτετο δὲ καὶ φιλοσόφων συνουσιῶν, καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο ἰδιώτης μὲν ἐν φιλοσόφοις, φιλόσοφος δὲ ἐν ἰδιώταις.

Ael. *V.H* 10 13.

Ibid 4. 15 τυραννικώτατος δὲ καὶ φονικώτατος ὁ Κριτίας γενόμενος, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐλύπησε πολλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς μισούμενος τὸν βίον κατέστρεψε.

¹ cf. Philostr *Vit. Soph* 1. 16, 2. 1 14, Dion. Hal *Lys.* 2
² i.e. in succession round the table; cf. Ath 12 527b, and for C.’s other prose-works see Diels *Vorsokr* 2 322 ff
³ cf. Plat *Tim.* 20a, d, 21a ⁴ cf. Plut *Fort Alex* 1 5, Ael *V.H.* 2. 13, 10. 13, 17 ⁵ cf. Sch Aeschin. 1. 39

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declaratory, but he is purer in style, and discriminates in his comparisons, so that he is not only grand but clear and well-arranged, and in many of his works, particularly in the *Exordia to Public Speeches*, he is at once truthful and convincing.¹

Aristotle *On the Soul*: Others, as for instance Critias, have pronounced the soul to be blood.

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner*. Drinking-customs differ in the various cities; compare Critias' *Constitution of Sparta*: 'The Chian and the Thasian drink in turn out of large cups, the Athenian out of small cups, the Thessalian,' etc.²

Scholast on Plato. Critias was a well-bred fine-grown man who nevertheless moved in philosophical circles, and thus was called a layman among philosophers and a philosopher among laymen.³

Aelian *Historical Miscellanies* (see Archilochus fr 149) ⁴

The Same: Critias became a tyrant and a murderer in the worst senses, and so both brought great trouble upon his country and died a detested man.⁵

See also Arist *Rhet* 1375b 32, 1416b 26, Them. Or. 20. 239, 26. 328, Lycurg. 113, Plat. *Criti.* 108a, *Charm* 317e, *Tim* 19c, *Prot.* 316, *Eryx* 392, Cic. *De Or.* 2. 23. 93, Phot *Bibl.* 101b 4, Plut *Lyc.* 9, *Cim.* 16, *Vit Or.* i. 1, Sext *Emp. Dogm.* 3. 54, *Hypot.* 3. 218, Philostr *Ep.* 73.

ΚΡΙΤΙΟΥ

ΕΛΕΓΕΙΩΝ

1

Ath. 1. 28 b Κριτίας δὲ οὕτως (τὰ ἐξ ἐκάστης πόλεως ιδιώματα καταλέγει)

Κότταβος ἐκ Σικελῆς ἐστὶ χθονός, ἐκπρεπὲς ἔργον,
ὃν σκοπὸν ἐς λατάγων τόξα καθιστάμεθα·
εἶτα δ' ὄχος Σικελός, κάλλει δαπάνη τε κράτιστος.

- Θεσσαλικὸς δὲ θρόνος γυίων τρυφερωτάτη ἔδρα.
6 εὐναίου δὲ λέχους μαλλὸν <ἄριστον> ἔχει¹
Μίλητός τε Χίος τ', ἔναλος πόλις Οἰνοπίωνος,
Τυρσῆνη δὲ κρατεῖ χρυσότυπος φιάλη,
καὶ πᾶς χαλκὸς ὅτις κοσμεῖ δόμον ἐν τινι χρεία·
10 Φοίνικες δ' εὖρον γράμματ' ἀλεξίλογα,²
Θήβη δ' ἄρματόεντα δίφρον συνεπήξατο πρώτη·
φορτηγούς δ' ἀκάτους Κᾶρες, ἄλδος ταμίαι.
τὸν δὲ τροχοῦ³ γαίης τε καμίνου τ' ἔκγονον εὖρεν
14 κλεινότατον κέραμον, χρήσιμον οἰκονόμον,
ἣ τὸ καλὸν Μαραθῶνι καταστήσασα τρόπαιον

2

ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΩΝ ΕΜΜΕΤΡΩΝ

Ibid. 10. 432 d προπόσεις δὲ τὰς γινομένας ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις
Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐκ ἦν ἔθος ποιεῖν οὐδὲ φιλοτησίας διὰ τούτων πρὸς
ἀλλήλους ποιείσθαι· δηλοῖ δὲ ταῦτα Κριτίας ἐν τοῖς Ἑλεγείοις·

καὶ τόδ' ἔθος Σπάρτη μελέτημά τε κείμενον ἐστί,
πίνειν τὴν αὐτὴν οἶνοφόρον κύλικα,

¹ E, cf Theocr 15. 125 mss κάλλος (emendation of μάλλον)

² Schw. (cf. Phot Lex. A 73 3 Reitz) mss λεξίλογα

³ Cas mss -ὄν

CRITIAS

ELEGIAC POEMS

1

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner*. Critias' catalogue of things peculiar to each city is this.

To Sicily belongs that rare fine thing the cottabus, which we set up to be the target of wine-drop arrows; Sicily's too is the wain that is best and cheapest¹. Of Thessaly is the chair that gives most comfort to the limbs; Miletus, and Chios, sea-girt city of Oenopion, have the best wool-coverlets of beds for our lying, Tuscany hath the pre-eminence in the gold-wrought jar, and in all bronze that adorns the house for any use; the Phoenicians invented letters, those helpers of discourse, Thebes first made the chariot, the Carian stewards of the brine light merchant-ships;² and the offspring of wheel and clay and furnace, that useful keeper of the house, the most renowned pot, is hers that set up the fair trophy at Marathon.³

2

CONSTITUTIONS IN VERSE

The Same: It was not the custom of the Spartans to pledge healths at their banquets as we do at ours, or to drink from the loving-cup in doing so. This is shown by a passage from the Elegiac Poems of Critias.

This too is a custom and practice at Sparta, to drink from one and the same cup of wine, and not

¹ one line lost
driven by oars

² prob sailing-ships as opposed to ships
³ i.e. Athens; cf Ath 15 666b (1-2)

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μηδ' ἀποδωρεῖσθαι προπόσεις ὀνομαστὶ λέγοντα,
μηδ' ἐπὶ δεξιτερὰν χεῖρα κύκλῳ θιάσου

5

ἄγγεα Λυδὴ χεῖρ εὖρ' Ἀσιατογενῆς,¹
καὶ προπόσεις ὀρέγειν ἐπιδέξια καὶ προκαλεῖσθαι
ἐξονομακλήδην ᾧ προπιεῖν ἐθέλῃ.²
εἴτ' ἀπὸ τοιούτων πόσεων γλώσσας τε λύουσιν³
10 εἰς αἰσχροὺς μύθους, σῶμά τ' ἀμαυρότερον
τεύχουσιν· πρὸς δ' ὄμματ'⁴ ἀχλὺς ἀμβλωπὸς
ἐφίξει·

λῆστις τ' ἐκτῇκει μνημοσύνην παραπίδων·
νοῦς δὲ παρέσφαλται· δμῶες δ' ἀκόλαστον ἔχουσιν
ἦθος· ἐπεισπίπτει δ' οἰκοτριβῆς δαπάνη.

οἱ Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ κόροι πίνουσι τοσοῦτον

16 ὥστε φρέν' εἰς ἰλαρὰν ἐλπίδα πάντας ἄγειν,⁵
εἷς τε φιλοφροσύνην γλῶσσαν μέτριόν τε γέλωτα·
τοιαύτη τε πόσις σώματί τ' ὠφέλιμος
γνώμη τε κτήσει τε· καλῶς τ' εἰς ἔργ' Ἀφροδίτης
20 πρὸς θ' ὕπνον ἤρμостαι τὸν καμάτων λιμένα,
πρὸς τὴν τερπνοτάτην τε θεῶν θνητοῖς Ὑγίειαν,
καὶ τῆς Εὐσεβίης γείτονα Σωφροσύνην

ἐξῆς τε πάλιν φησὶν

αἱ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον κυλίκων προπόσεις παρα-
χρῆμα

24 τέρψασαι λυποῦσ' εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα⁶ χρόνον·
ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ δίκαιθ' ὁμαλῶς διάκειται,
ἔσθειν καὶ πίνειν σύμμετρα πρὸς τὸ φρονεῖν
καὶ τὸ πονεῖν εἶναι δυνατούς· οὐκ ἔστ' ἀπότακτος
ἡμέρα⁷ οἰνώσαι σῶμ' ἀμέτροισι πότοις.

¹ B compares Poll. 2. 148 ταχύχειρ ὡς Κριτίας and sugg.
δὴ ταχύχειρ εὖρ' κτλ. ² Hart: mss^ε-ει ³ Mus: mss

CRITIAS

to give the cup when thou namest thy toast nor [to pass the cup] round the company.¹ 'Twas a Lydian hand, Asian-born,² that invented pitchers, and the offering of toasts in turn around the board with the naming beforehand of the toast to be drunk. Moreover after such drinking the tongue is loosened³ unto foul tales, and the body gropeth; a darkling mist settles on the eye, oblivion melts the memory from the wits, and the arrows of the mind go wide; the serving-men become out of hand, and ruinous expenditure befalls. But at Sparta young men drink only so much as to bring all hearts into a merry confidence, and all lips into goodfellowship and moderate laughter. Such drinking advantageth alike body, understanding, and estate; it well be-fitteth the works of Aphrodite and sleep that's our haven after toil, befitteth also Health the God most pleasing unto man, and Piety's neighbour Discretion. And immediately afterwards he says again

For toasting beyond due measure make present delight only to bring lasting pain afterward, whereas the Spartan manner lieth evenly, namely to eat and drink proportional to keeping thy wits and the power to act, there's no day appointed⁴ for making the body drunk with immoderate drinking.

¹ at least one line lost ² possibly corrupt, if so, perh. 'swift-handed Asian-born,' omitting 'Lydian' ³ the unknown grammatical subj't was supplied from the lost line or lines above; it can hardly be the (apparently Athenian, cf. l. 14) guests ⁴ apparently a colloquial phrase meaning 'you ought not'

τελέουσιν
πάντ' ἀπάγειν
ἡμέρῃ

⁴ Herm mss ὕμν'
⁶ Schol. εἵπειτα

⁵ Emp -B mss ἀσπίδα
⁷ mss also ἀπότακτον and

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

3, 4

εἰς Ἀλκιβιάδην

Heph 2 3 p. 9 Cons [π συνεκφωνήσεως] ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔπεισι σπανίως ὥστε Κριτίας ἐν τῇ εἰς Ἀλκιβιάδην Ἑλεγεῖα οὐκ ᾔετο ἐγχωρεῖν τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου τὸ ὄνομα φησὶ γάρ

Καὶ νῦν Κλεινίου νῖον Ἀθηναῖον στεφανώσω
Ἀλκιβιάδην νέοισιν ὑμνήσας τρόποις·
οὐ γάρ πως ἦν τοῦνομ' ἐφαρμόζειν ἑλεγεῖω·
νῦν δ' ἐν ἱαμβεῖω κείσεται οὐκ ἀμέτρως.

4

Plut. Alcib 33 τὸ μὲν οὖν ψήφισμα τῆς καθόδου πρότερον ἐκεκύρωτο Κριτίου τοῦ Καλλαίσχρου γράψαντος, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς Ἑλεγεῖαις πεποίηκεν ὑπομνησκων τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην τῆς χάριτος ἐν τούτοις

γνώμη δ' ἥ σε κατήγαγ', ἐγὼ ταύτην ἐν ἅπασιν
εἶπον καὶ γράψας τοῦργον ἔδρασα τόδε·
σφραγὶς δ' ἡμετέρης γλώσσης¹ ἐπὶ τοῖσδεσι κείται.

5

Plut. Vit Cim 10 ἔτι τοίνυν Γοργίας μὲν ὁ Λεοντῖνός φησι τὸν Κίμωνα τὰ χρήματα κτᾶσθαι μὲν ὡς χρᾶτο, χρῆσθαι δὲ ὡς τιμῶτο Κριτίας δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα γενόμενος ἐν ταῖς Ἑλεγεῖαις εὔχεται

πλουτοῦτον μὲν Σκοπαδῶν, μεγαλοφροσύνην δὲ
Κίμωνος,
νίκας δ' Ἀρκεσίλα² τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου.

¹ Schaf mss γλώττης
ἀγησίλα

² B, cf Paus. 6 2 1. mss
,

CRITIAS

3, 4

ON ALCIBIADES

Hephaestion *Handbook of Metre* [on *synizesis*]. But it is rare in heroic verse, so that Critias in his *Elegy on Alcibiades* considered it impossible to get his friend's name into the metre, saying.

And now will I crown the Athenian Alcibiades son of Cleinias with a new style of eulogy; for 'twas not possible to fit his name to elegiac verse, and so, to save the metre, he shall stand in an iambic line.¹

4

Plutarch *Life of Alcibiades*. The decree for his recall had been ratified earlier on the proposal of Critias son of Callaeschrus, as Critias has himself recorded in his *Elegies*, where he reminds Alcibiades of the good turn he did him, in the following lines:

The decision that brought thee home, 'twas I that spake it among them all, and by my own proposing did the deed; upon these words the seal of my tongue is set.²

5

The Same *Life of Cimon*. More, according to Gorgias of Leontini Cimon made money to spend it, and spent it to win credit, and when Critias became one of the Thirty Tyrants he wished, as we may read in his *Elegies*, for

the wealth of the Scopads, the greatmindedness of Cimon, and the victories of Arcesilas of Sparta³

¹ line 2 containing the name is an iambic instead of a pentameter ² cf. Theogn 19 ³ twice in the horse-race, of Paus. 6 2. 1; his son Lachas won it in 420, cf. Ibid. and Thuc. 5. 50. 4

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6

Stob. Fl 29. 10 [π. φιλοπονίας καὶ μελέτης καὶ ὅτι ἀσύμφορον τὸ ὀκνεῖν] Κριτίου

ἐκ μελέτης πλείους ἢ <κ>¹ φύσεως ἀγαθοί.

6A

Sch Eur *Ηερρ* 264 ἐνὸς τῶν Ἑπτὰ Σοφῶν ἐστὶν ἀπόφθεγμα τὸ 'Μηδὲν ἄγαν,' ὑπερ Χείλωνι ἀνατιθέασιν, ὡς Κριτίας

**Ἦν Λακεδαιμόνιος Χείλων σοφός, ὃς τὰδ' ἔλεξε*
'Μηδὲν ἄγαν,' καιρῷ πάντα πρόσεστι καλά.

ΕΠΩΝ

7

Ath. 13 600 e [π. ἔρωτος]· ὃν δ σοφὸς ὕμνων αἰεὶ ποτε Ἀνακρέων πᾶσιν ἐστὶ διὰ στόματος λέγει οὖν περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ κράτιστος Κριτίας τάδε

Τὸν σέ² γυναικείων μελέων πλέξαντά ποτ' ὦδ' ἀς
ἡδὺν Ἀνακρεῖοντα Τέως εἰς Ἑλλάδ' ἀνῆγεν,
συμποσίων ἐρέθισμα, γυναικῶν ἡπερόπνευμα,
αὐλῶν ἀντίπαλον, φίλοβάρβιτον, ἡδύν, ἄλυπον·
5 οὔποτε σου φιλότης γηράσεται οὐδὲ θανεῖται·
ἔστ' ἂν ὕδωρ οἴνῳ συμμειγνύμενον κυλίκεσσιν
παῖς διαπομπεύῃ προπόσεις ἐπιδέξια νωμῶν,
παννυχίδας θ' ἱερὰς θήλεις χοροὶ ἀμφιέπωσιν,
πλάστιγξ θ' ἡ χαλκοῦ θυγατὴρ ἐπ' ἀκραισι καθίζη
10 κοττάβου ὑψηλῇ³ κορυφαῖς Βρομίου ψακάδεσσιν.

¹ sugg B ² Mein (cf Simmias 1): mss δὲ ³ Wil mss -ais, but the sentence must be otherwise corrupt or curtailed, Kaib adds θαλλομένη in the next line; read δόχιον (= δοχεῖον) for Βρομίαι? E

CRITIAS

6

Stobaeus *Anthology* [on industry and practice, and that hesitation is inexpedient] Critias:

More men are good ¹ by practice than by nature.

6A

Scholast on Euripides. To one of the Seven Sages belongs the maxim 'Moderation in all things'; it is ascribed to Cheilon, compare Critias.

Wise was the Spartan Cheilon, who said 'Moderation in all things'; all that is good belongeth unto good measure.²

EPIC POEMS³

7

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner*. Love is the almost constant theme of the wise Anacreon who is so familiar to us all. Compare the excellent Critias

Teos brought thee unto Greece, thou sweet old weaver of womanish song, rouser of revels, cozenor of dames, rival of the flute, lover of the lyre, the delightful, the anodyne; and never shall love of thee, Anacreon, grow old or die, so long as serving-lad bears round mixed wine for cups and deals bumpers about board, so long as maiden band does holy night-long service of the dance, so long as the scale-pan that is daughter of bronze sits high upon the summit of the cottabus-pole ready for the throwing of the wine-drops.

¹ including excellence other than moral
41 (1-2)

³ i.e. written in hexameters

² cf. Diog L 1

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

8

Mall. Theod *Gram. Lat.* 6 2. 589 20 K Metrum dactylicum hexametrum primitus ab Orpheo Critias adserit

9

Poll 2. 122 παρὰ δὲ Κριτίῳ καὶ
λογεύς

ὁ ῥήτωρ

CRITIAS

8

Mallus Theodorus *On Metres* [on the dactylic hexameter]:
Critias declares that this metre was invented by Orpheus ¹

9

Pollux *Onomasticon* In Critias we find λογεύς
'speechman'

for ῥήτωρ 'orator.' ¹

¹ perh from a drama or a prose-work; for other fragments
see Diels *Vorsokr.* 2 316 ff.

ΣΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

ΠΟΙΗΜΑΤΩΝ

Suid. Σωκράτης Σωφρονίσκου λιθοξόου καὶ μητρὸς Φαιναρέτης μαίας πρότερον γενόμενος λιθοξόος εἶτα φιλοσοφήσας διὰ τὸ ἀκοῦσαι Ἀναξαγόρου τοῦ Κλαζομενίου, εἶτα Δάμωνος, εἶτα Ἀρχελάου ¹ ἐς δὲ ἄνδρας ἐλθὼν ἐστρατεύσατο εἰς τε Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ Ποτιδαίαν καὶ ἐπὶ Δηλίῳ καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν γέγονεν, ὥς τύπῳ εἰπεῖν, Ὀλυμπιάδι οὗ, ἐβίω δὲ ἔτη π¹, εἶτα ἀλογίᾳ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπονοίᾳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων βιασθεὶς πιεῖν κώνειον ἀπέθανεν, ἔγγραφον οὐδὲν καταλιπών, ἥ ὥς τινες βούλονται ὕμνον εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Μῦθον Αἰσώπειον δι' ἐπῶν.

Plat. *Phaed.* 60 c ὁ οὖν Κέβης ὑπολαβὼν ‘Νῆ τὸν Δία, ὦ Σώκρατες,’ ἔφη ‘ἐδ’ γ’ ἐποίησας ἀναμνήσας με. περὶ γάρ τοι τῶν ποιημάτων ὧν πεποίηκας ἐντείνας τοὺς τοῦ Αἰσώπου λόγους καὶ τὸ εἰς τὸν Ἀπόλλω Προοίμιον καὶ ἄλλοι τινές με ἤδη ἤροντο, ἀτὰρ καὶ Εὐήνος πρῶην, ὅτι ποτὲ διανοηθεὶς, ἐπειδὴ δεῦρο ἦλθες, ἐποίησας αὐτά, πρότερον οὐδὲν πώποτε ποιήσας εἰ οὖν τί σοι μέλει τοῦ ἔχειν ἐμὲ Εὐνήν; ἀποκρίνασθαι ὅταν με αὖθις ἐρωτᾷ (ἐδ’ οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι ἐρήσεται) εἶπε τί χρή λέγειν;—‘Λέγε τοίνυν,’ ἔφη ‘αὐτῷ, ὦ Κέβης, τὰληθῆ, ὅτι οὐκ ἐκείνῳ βουλομένος οὐδὲ τοῖς ποιήμασιν αὐτοῦ ἀντίτεχνος εἶναι ἐποίησα ταῦτα (ἤδη γὰρ ὥς οὐ βῆδιον εἶη), ἀλλ’ ἐνυπνίων τινῶν ἀποπειρώμενος τί λέγοι, καὶ ἀφοσιούμενος εἰ πολλάκις ταύτην τὴν μουσικὴν μοι ἐπιτάττοι ποιεῖν. οὕτω δὲ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐποίησα οὗ ἦν ἡ παρούσα θυσία, μετὰ δὲ τὸν θεόν, ἐννοήσας ὅτι τὸν ποιητὴν θεοί, εἴπερ μέλλοι ποιητὴν εἶναι, ποιεῖν μύθους ἄλλ’ οὐ λόγους, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἦ μυθολογικός, διὰ ταῦτα δὲ οὗς προχείρους εἶχον μύθους καὶ ἡπιστάμην τοὺς Αἰσώπων,

¹ some corruption hereabouts

¹ the *Gk.* says eighty ² *lit.* after the God, i.e. following the ancient custom, first sacred and then secular; cf. *L & M.* 591

SOCRATES

POEMS

Suidas *Lexicon*. Socrates —Son of the mason Sophroniscus and the midwife Phaenaretè. He began life as a mason like his father . . . later he took to philosophy after hearing Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, and attended the lectures first of Damon and then of Archelaus. . . When he had grown up he took part in the military expeditions to Amphipolis and Potidaea, and fought at Delium. . . He was contemporary, as one might say, with the Peloponnesian War, being born in the 77th Olympiad (472-69 B C) and lived till he was seventy,¹ when by the folly, or rather the madness, of the Athenians he was made to drink hemlock, and died without leaving any written work, unless it were, as some writers hold, a *Hymn to Apollo* and an Aesopian *Fable* in epic verse.

Plato *Phaedo*. Hereupon Cebes exclaimed 'Ah, Socrates! you did well to remind me. I have been repeatedly asked—only the other day by Euenus—about the poems you have composed by versifying the tales of Aesop and about your *Hymn to Apollo*, they all want to know how it is that you composed them as soon as you came here though you had never before done the like. Now if you would like me to have some answer to give Euenus when he repeats his question, as I know he will, tell me what reply to make.' 'Very well, Cebes,' he replied 'tell him the truth, that I composed these poems with no desire to compete with him or his works—for I knew how difficult that would be—but because I wanted to test the meaning of certain dreams I had, and acquit my conscience of any obligation they might lay upon me to make this literary venture. Thus it was that I first composed a poem to the God whose festival was being held; and then,² believing that the poet, if he is to be worth the name, should compose myth or fable and not history—and I had no expert knowledge of fiction myself,—I took the fables I had at hand and knew, namely Aesop's, and put the first I

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

τούτων ἐποίησα οἷς πρώτοις ἐνέτυχον ταῦτα οὖν, ὦ Κέθης, Εὐήνῃ φράζε, καὶ ἐρρῶσθαι καί, ἂν σωφρονῇ, ἔμε διώκειν ὡς τάχιστα. ἔπειμι δέ, ὡς ἔοικε, τήμερον· κελεύουσι γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι

Marin Par 79 (66) ἀφ' οὗ [κατῆλθον οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβάντες, καὶ Σωκράτης ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐτελεύτησεν βιοὺς ἔτη ΔΔΔ, ἔτη ΗΔΔΔ II, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Λάχηςτος.

1, 2

Diog L 2 42 [π. Σωκράτους] ἀλλὰ καὶ παιᾶνα κατὰ τινὰς ἐποίησεν, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή

Δήλι' Ἀπολλων χαῖρε, καὶ Ἀρτεμι, παῖδε κλεεινώ

Διονυσόδωρος δέ φησι μὴ εἶναι αὐτοῦ τὸν παιᾶνα ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ μῦθον Αἰσώπειον οὐ πάνυ ἐπιτετευγμένως, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή

Αἰσωπὸς ποτ' ἔλεξε Κορίνθιον ἄστν νέμουσιν
μὴ κρίνειν ἀρετὴν λαοδίκῃ σοφίῃ.

3

Athenaeus 14. 628 e ἦν γὰρ τὸ τῆς ὀρχήσεως γένος τῆς ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς εὐσχημον τότε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπές καὶ ὥσανει τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις κινήσεις ἀπομιμούμενον. ὅθεν καὶ Σωκράτης ἐν τοῖς Ποιήμασιν τοὺς κάλλιστα χορεύοντας ἀρίστους φησὶν εἶναι τὰ πολέμια, λέγων οὕτως

οἳ δὲ χοροῖς κάλλιστα θεοὺς τιμῶσιν, ἄριστοι
ἐν πολέμῳ.

¹ cf *Dio Chrys* 43 10 (παιᾶνα), *Epictet* 2. 6 26, 4 4. 22, *Themist* 2 27c (προοίμιον ἐν τόνῳ ἑξαμέτρῳ), *Suid.* Σωκράτης

SOCRATES

happened on into verse Here then is your reply to Euenus, and pray bid him farewell for me, and say that if he is wise he will lose no time in coming after me I am going, it seems, to-morrow, such are the orders of my countrymen

Parian Chronicle : From the time when the Greeks who went up with Cyrus returned, and the philosopher Socrates died at the age of seventy, 137 years, in the archonship of Laches at Athens (400 B C.)

1, 2

Diogenes Laertius *Lives of the Philosophers* [on Socrates]. He even composed, according to some writers, a Paean beginning :

Hail, Delian Apollo, and hail, Artemis, renowned children of . . .

But Dionysodorus declares that the Paean is not his. He also composed an Aesopean Fable, not very successfully, beginning :

Aesop once bade the dwellers in Corinth not to judge of virtue by the wisdom of a court-of-law ¹

3

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner* The kind of dancing employed in the choruses was in those days decorous and finely done, and as it were imitative of the motions of soldiers under arms And that is why Socrates declares in his *Poems* that the best dancers are the best soldiers, thus

Those that honour the Gods best in the dance are likewise best in war.

(ὕμνον δι' ἐπῶν), Plut *Aud Poet* 2, Suid Σωκράτης (μῦθον Αἰσώπειον δι' ἐπῶν), Aug *Cons. Evang* 1 7 12

ANTIMACHOT

Βίος

Plut *Lys.* 18 Ἀντιμάχου δὲ τοῦ Κολοφωνίου καὶ Νικηράτου τινὸς Ἡρακλεώτου ποιήμασι Λυσάνδρεια διαγωνισαμένων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν Νικήρατον ἐστεφάνωσεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀντίμαχος ἀχθειςθὲς ἠφάνισε τὸ ποίημα. Πλάτων δὲ νέος ὢν τότε καὶ θαυμάζων τὸν Ἀντίμαχον ἐπὶ τῇ ποιητικῇ, βαρέως φέροντα τὴν ἥτταν ἀνελάβανε καὶ παρεμυθεῖτο, τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι κακὸν εἶναι φάμενος τὴν ἄγνοϊαν, ὥσπερ τὴν τυφλότητα τοῖς μὴ βλέπουσιν.

Diod. Sic 3 65 μικρὸν δὲ τῆς εἰρήνης ὕστερον ἐτελεύτησε Δαρεῖος ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεὺς . . καθ' ὃν δὴ χρόνον καὶ Ἀντίμαχον τὸν ποιητὴν Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Ἀθηναῖός φησιν ἠνθηκέναι.

Plut *Cons Apollon* 9 ἐχρήσατο δὲ τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἀγωγῇ καὶ Ἀντίμαχος ὁ ποιητής. ἀποθανούσης γὰρ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Λύδης, πρὸς ἣν φιλοστόργως εἶχε, παραμύθιον τῆς λύπης αὐτῷ ἐποίησε τὴν ἐλεγείαν τὴν καλουμένην Λύδην, ἐξαριθμησάμενος τὰς ἥρωικὰς συμφοράς, τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις κακοῖς ἐλάττω τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ποιῶν λύπην.

Id *Garr* 21 ἔστι τοίνυν τρία γένη τῶν πρὸς τὰς ἐρωτήσεις ἀποκρίσεων, τὸ μὲν ἀναγκαῖον, τὸ
498

ANTIMACHUS

LIFE

Plutarch *Life of Lysander* : When Antimachus of Colophon and a certain Niceratus of Heraclea were competing at the Lysandreia in poems in his honour, he gave the prize to Niceratus, and Antimachus in anger destroyed his poem. But Plato, who was then a young man and admired his poetry, tried to sweeten the bitterness of his defeat by saying that it is the ignorant who suffer by their ignorance, as the blind by their blindness.

Diodorus of Sicily *Historical Library* : Shortly after the Peace (of 404 B.C.) died Darius the King of Asia. . It is about this time that Apollodorus of Athens puts the *floruit* of the poet Antimachus.

Plutarch *Consolation to Apollonius* : The following were the means to consolation taken by the poet Antimachus. Upon the death of his wife Lydè, to whom he was deeply attached, he wrote to assuage his grief the *Elegy* called by her name, and enumerating the misfortunes of the heroes, lessened his own sorrow by recounting the ills of other men.¹

The Same *Garrulity*. There are three kinds of answers to a question, the first that of bare necessity,

¹ cf. Ath 13 597a

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

δὲ φιλάνθρωπον, τὸ δὲ περισσόν. . ὁ δὲ περισσὸς
καὶ ἀδολὲσχος, ἄν γε δὴ τύχη καὶ τὸν Κολο-
φώνιον ἀνεγνωκὼς Ἀντίμαχον, κτλ.

Cic *Brut.* 51 nec enim posset idem Demos-
thenes dicere quod dixisse Antimachum, clarum
poetam, ferunt, qui cum convocatis auditoribus
legeret eis magnum illud quod novistis volumen
suum, et eum legentem omnes praeter Platonem
reliquissent, 'Legam' inquit 'nihilominus; Plato
enim mihi unus instar est omnium' et recte,
poema enim reconditum paucorum approbationem,
oratio popularis assensum vulgi debet movere.

Ovid *Trist* 1 6 1:

Nec tantum Clario Lyde dilecta poetae,
Nec tantum Coe Bittis amata suo est,
Pectoribus quantum tu nostris, uxor, inhaeres
Digna minus misero, non meliore viro

Suid Ἀντίμαχος· Κολοφώνιος, υἱὸς Ὑπάρ-
χου, γραμματικὸς καὶ ποιητῆς . . . ἀκουστῆς
Στησιμβρότου· γέγονε δὲ πρὸ Πλάτωνος

Quint. 10 1 53 [de Hesiodo et Antimacho].
contra in Antimacho vis et gravitas et minime
vulgare eloquendi genus habet laudem. sed quam-
vis ei secundas fere grammaticorum consensus
deferat, et affectibus et iucunditate et dispositione
et omnino arte deficitur, ut plane manifesto ap-
pareat, quanto sit aliud proximum esse aliud
secundum.

LIFE OF ANTIMACHUS

the second that of kindness, the third that of redundancy. . The redundant or garrulous answerer, if he happen to have read Antimachus of Colophon, will say, etc ¹

Cicero *Brutus*. It would be impossible for Demosthenes to make the remark recorded of the poet Antimachus, who, when the company assembled to hear him read that great volume of his that you know so well ² was finally reduced to Plato, exclaimed 'I shall read on all the same; I count Plato as worth all the rest put together' And rightly so; for a recondite poem should move the approval of few, whereas a popular disquisition asks the assent of men in general

Ovid *Sorrows*. Neither was Lyde so dear to the Clarian poet nor Bittis to her Coan,³ as you, dear wife of my bosom, who are worthy maybe of a less miserable husband but not of a better.

Suidas *Lexicon*. Antimachus:—Of Colophon, son of Hyparchus; grammarian and poet. . pupil of Stesimbrotus; he flourished before the time of Plato

Quintilian *Principles of Oratory* [on Hesiod and Antimachus]: In Antimachus, on the contrary, we have to praise force, weight, and a style very far from commonplace. But though nearly all scholars agree that he should be placed second (to Hesiod), he is deficient in feeling, sweetness, arrangement of matter, and in art generally, thus making it clear how different a second may be from a good second.

¹ the context, too long to quote, implies that A was a by-word for longwindedness ² prob the *Thebaid* ³ Philetas

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 22 ταύτης δὲ τῆς (αὐστηρᾶς) ἀρμονίας πολλοὶ μὲν ἐγένοντο ζηλωταί . διαφέροντες τῶν ἄλλων ἐν μὲν ἐπικῇ ποιήσῃ ὃ τε Κολοφώνιος Ἀντίμαχος καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ὁ φυσικός, ἐν δὲ μελοποιίᾳ Πίνδαρος, ἐν δὲ τραγῳδίᾳ Αἰσχύλος, ἐν δ' ἱστορίᾳ Θουκυδίδης, ἐν δὲ πολιτικοῖς λόγοις Ἀντιφῶν.

Id. *Vet. Cens.* Ἀντίμαχος δ' εὐτονίας (ἐφρόντισε) καὶ ἀγωνιστικῆς τραχύτητος καὶ τοῦ συνηθούς τῆς ἐξאלλαγῆς.

Greg. Naz. *Ep.* 54 τὸ Λακωνίζειν οὐ τοῦτό ἐστιν ὅπερ οἶει, ὀλίγας συλλαβὰς γράφειν, ἀλλὰ περὶ πλείστων ὀλίγας. οὕτως ἐγὼ καὶ βραχυλογώτατον Ὅμηρον λέγω καὶ πολὺν τὸν Ἀντίμαχον.

Procl. ad Plat. *Tim.* i. 21 c Ἡρακλείδης γοῦν ὁ Ποντικός φησιν, ὅτι τῶν Χοιρίλου τότε εὐδοκίμου ντων Πλάτων τὰ Ἀντιμάχου προὔτιμῃσε, καὶ αὐτὸν ἔπεισε τὸν Ἡρακλείδην εἰς Κολοφῶνα ἐλθόντα τὰ ποιήματα συλλέξαι τοῦ ἀνδρός.

Ibid. 19 e καὶ γὰρ εἰ τεχνικόν ἐστι παρά τινι τῶν ποιητῶν ὕψος, πολὺ τὸ μεμνηχανημένον ἔχει καὶ στομφῶδες, μεταφοραῖς χρώμενον ὡς τὰ πολλά, καθάπερ τὸ Ἀντιμάχειον.

Sch. Dion. *Perieg.* ap. Schneid. Callim. 74 b ὅτι δὲ διαβέβληται τὸ παχὺ σαφῶς ὁ Καλλίμαχος ἐν τοῖς Ἐπιγράμμασι δηλοῖ· διασύρων γὰρ Ἀντιμάχου τὸ ποίημα τὴν Λύδην ἔφη·

Λύδη καὶ παχὺ γράμμα καὶ οὐ τορόν.

LIFE OF ANTIMACHUS

Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Literary Composition*: There have been many exponents of the austere style. . . . Outstanding in the epic are Antimachus of Colophon and the natural philosopher Empedocles, in lyric Pindar, in tragedy Aeschylus, in history Thucydides, in political oratory Antiphon.

The Same *Criticism of the Early Writers*: Antimachus' study was vigour, a challenging ruggedness, and unusualness

Gregory of Nazianzus *Epistles*: The Laconic is not, what you take it to be, the use of few syllables, but the use of few syllables about a great deal. In this way I call Homer extremely brief and Antimachus long.

Proclus on Plato: According to Heracleides of Pontus, Plato preferred the works of Antimachus to those of Choerilus which stood then in so high repute, and persuaded Heracleides himself to go to Colophon and collect Antimachus' poems.

The Same: For if we find technical perfection in a poet, he is sure to abound in calculated effect and bombast, employing metaphors nearly everywhere, like Antimachus.

Scholast on Dionysius Periegetes: That obscurity is plainly objected to by Callimachus is seen in his *Epigrams*, where he ridicules the *Lyde* of Antimachus thus:

Lyde and writing obscure instead of clear.

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

Anth. Pal. 9. 63 Ἀσκληπιάδου¹

Λυδὴ καὶ γένος εἰμὶ καὶ οὖνομα· τῶν δ' ἀπὸ Κόδρου
σεμνοτέρῃ πασῶν εἰμι δι' Ἀντίμαχον.
τίς γὰρ ἔμ' οὐκ ἤεισε; τίς οὐκ ἀνελέξατο Λύδην,
τὸ ξυνὸν Μουσῶν γράμμα καὶ Ἀντιμάχου;

Sch. Nic. Ther. 2 ἔστι δὲ Νίκανδρος ζηλωτῆς
Ἀντιμάχου, διόπερ πολλαῖς λέξεσιν αὐτοῦ κέ-
χρηται· διὸ καὶ ἐν ἐνίοις δωρίζει.

Plut. Timol. 36 καθάπερ γὰρ ἡ μὲν Ἀντι-
μάχου ποίησις καὶ τὰ τοῦ Διονυσίου ζωγρα-
φήματα, τῶν Κολοφωνίων, ἰσχὺν ἔχοντα καὶ
τόνον ἐκβεβιασμένοις καὶ καταπόνοις ἔοικε, ταῖς
δὲ Νικομάχου γραφαῖς καὶ τοῖς Ὅμηρου στίχοις
μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης δυνάμεως καὶ χαρίτος πρόσεστι
τὸ δοκεῖν εὐχερῶς καὶ ῥαδίως ἀπειργάσθαι, οὕτως
κτλ.

Phot. Bibl. 171 a 24 ἀνεγνώσθη Ἀγαθαρχίδου
Ἱστορικόν· ἐνιοὶ δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀγάθαρχον ὀνομά-
ζουσι . . ἄλλὰ καὶ Ἐπιτομὴν (συντάξαι) τῆς
Ἀντιμάχου Λύδης.

Swid. Λογγίνος ὁ Κάσσιος· φιλόσοφος . . ἦν
δὲ ἐπὶ Αὐρηλιανοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος . . ἔγραψε . .
Λέξεις Ἀντιμάχου.

¹ Lyde = Lydian ² i.e. Athemians

LIFE OF ANTIMACHUS

Palatine Anthology: Asclepiades:—

Lyde am I by name and race;¹ but Antimachus has made me nobler than all the daughters of Codrus² For who has not sung of me? and who has not read *Lyde*, the common work of the Muses and Antimachus?

Scholiast on Nicander: He is an emulator of Antimachus, and therefore uses many of his phrases; which is why he sometimes uses the Doric.

Plutarch *Life of Timoleon*: For just as the poems of Antimachus and the paintings of Dionysius, both men of Colophon, possessing as they do power and vigour, give the impression of being forced and laboured, whereas the pictures of Nicomachus and the lines of Homer combine power and grace with the appearance of having been produced with deftness and ease, so, etc.

Photius *Library*. The *History* of Agatharchides or, as some writers call him, Agatharchus, was read. . He is said to have written an *Eptome* of the *Lyde* of Antimachus.

Suidas: Cassius Longinus:—Philosopher; . . . flourished in the reign of the emperor Aurelian (A.D. 270–5) . . wrote . a *Glossary to Antimachus*.

See also Dio Cass. 69. 4, *A.P.* 12. 168 (quoted p. 86), Spart. *Hadr.* 5, Plut. *Vit. Hom.* 2. 2, Suid. *Πανύσις*, Procl. ad Plat. *Tim.* 1. 28, Porphy. *Vit. Plot.* 7. A large number of small fragments of A.'s *Thebaid* and other Epics are collected by Kinkel *Epic. Graec.* .

ANTIMACHOT

ΛΥΔΗΣ

1

Steph Byz. Δώτιον . . . καὶ Δωτιάς ὡς Ἰλιάς τοῦ Ἰλιεύς . .
καὶ Ἀντίμαχος ἐν δευτέρῳ Λύδης

φεύγοντας γαίης ἔκτοθι Δωτιάδος

2

Phot. Lex 344 7 ὀργεῶνες . . . Σέλευκος δὲ ἐν τῷ Ὑπο-
μνήματι τῶν Σόλωνος Ἀξόνων ὀργεῶνάς φησι καλεῖσθαι τοὺς
συνόδους¹ ἔχοντας περὶ τινὰς ἥρωας ἢ θεούς· ἤδη δὲ μεταφέροντες
καὶ τοὺς ἱερέας οὕτω καλοῦσιν ὁ γὰρ Ἀντίμαχος ἐν τῇ Λύδῃ γ'

ἐνθα² Καβάρνους θῆκεν ἀγακλέας ὀργειῶνας

3

Sch Eur Phoen 44 [παῖς πατέρα καίνει καὶ λαβὼν ὀχήματα
| Πολύβῳ τροφεῖ δίδωσιν] ὅτι δὲ Πολύβῳ δέδωκε (Οἰδίπους) τοὺς
ἵππους, καὶ Ἀντίμαχος φησιν ἐν Λύδῃ·

εἶπε δὲ φωνήσας· 'Πόλυβε, θρεπτήρια τάσδε³
ἵππους τοι δώσω δυσμενέων ἐλάσας.'

4

Ath 11 469 e ὅτι δὲ καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἐπὶ ποτηρίου διεκομίζετο ἐπὶ
τὴν δύσιν, Στησίχορος μὲν οὕτως φησὶν [fr. 8] καὶ Ἀντί-
μαχος δ' οὕτωςι λέγει

τότε δὴ χρυσέῳ⁴ ἐν δέπαι
'Ἡέλιον πόμπευεν⁵ ἀγακλυμένη Ἑρύθεια.

¹ mss συνόλους, Suid συλλόγους, cf. Harp. ² Gais. γ'
ἐνθα: mss γενεᾷ ³ B mss τάδε ⁴ Cas: mss εὐχρεφ
⁵ Schw mss πομπει

ANTIMACHUS

LYDE

1

Stephanus of Byzantium: Dotium — Δωτιάς 'Dotian' is found, like 'Ιλιάς 'Iliad' from 'Ιλιεύς. Antimachus in the Second Book of his *Lyde*.

banished beyond the Dotian land

2

Photius *Lexicon* · ὀργεῶνες · . Seleucus in his treatise *On Solon's Axones* ¹ declares that this was what they called all who meet together to worship heroes or Gods; but now by a transference they call priests by this name, compare Antimachus' *Lyde* Book iii.

where She ² appointed the Cabarnians, those renowned priests ³

3

Scholast on Euripides ['the son slew the father, and taking the chariot and its team gave them to his foster-father Polybus'] · That Oedipus gave the horses to Polybus we are also told by Antimachus in the *Lyde*.

And he cried 'These horses that I took from my enemy will I give to thee, Polybus, to be my foster-gift.'

4

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner*: Of the Sun's passage to his setting in a cup, we thus learn from Stesichorus: . . . and Antimachus says.

Then in the golden cup was the Sun convoyed by the far-famed Erytheia.

¹ i.e. the revolving tables on which his laws were inscribed

² Demeter at Paros · ³ cf. Suid, Harp. ὀργεῶνες

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

5

Et Mag. 375 40 ἔρκτωρ ὁ πρακτικός Ἀντίμαχος
οἷ <σοι>¹ τῶν μεγάλων ἔρκτορές εἰσι κακῶν.

6

Sch. Ap Rhod. i. 1008 [δύπτοντες κεφαλὰς] . δύπτειν δε
ἐστι τὸ δύνειν ὡς παρὰ Καλλιμάχῳ . πρότερος δὲ Ἀντίμαχος

ἡὔτε τις καύηξ δύπτῃ²
ἀλμυρὸν εἰς πέλαγος

7

Ibid. 211 [Ζήτης καὶ Κάλαις] τούτους ἐκ διαφόρων τόπων
συμπλεῦσαι τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις φασὶν οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Θράκης, ὡς
Ἀπολλώνιος, Ἡρόδωρος δὲ ἐκ Δαυλίδος, Δοῦρις δὲ ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων
κατάλεγει δὲ τούτους καὶ Ἀντίμαχος.

8

Ibid 1289 Ἀντίμαχος δὲ ἐν τῇ Λύδῃ φησὶν ἐκβιβασθέντα τὸν
Ἡρακλέα διὰ τὸ καταβαρεῖσθαι τὴν Ἀργῶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἥρωος.

9

Ibid 3 409 [π. ταύρων τῶν Αἰήτου] καὶ Ἀντίμαχος ἐν τῇ
Λύδῃ Ἠφαιστοτεύκτους τοὺς ταύρους ἀπεφίηνατο.

9A

Sch. Nic. Ther. 472 Μόσυχλος δὲ ὕρος τῆς Λήμνου, ὡς
Ἀντίμαχος·

<ἔπνεον> Ἠφαίστου πυρὶ εἵκελον, ὃ³ ῥα τίτυσκει
δαίμων⁴ ἀκροτάτης ἐν κορυφῇς Μοσύχλου.⁵

¹ B also σάμου ² mss δύπτει, δύνῃ ³ mss ἦν ⁴ mss
⁵ B: mss ἀκροτάτης (του) ὕρεος (ὑρους) κορυ-
φῇσι M.

ANTIMACHUS

5

Etymologicum Magnum : ἔρκτωρ — 'effective,' Antimachus :
who are the doers of the great wrongs unto thee.

6

Scholast on Apollonius of Rhodes [vailing their heads]:
δύπτειν 'to vail' is to lower, as in Callimachus . . . and earlier
in Antimachus :

even as when a gannet vails her head . in the
briny deep.¹

7

The Same [Zetes and Calais] The places whence they
came to join the Argonauts are given differently, some
authorities saying with Apollonius that it was from Thrace,
Herodorus from Daulis, Duris from the land of the Hyper-
boreans, all these are given by Antimachus.

8

The Same According to Antimachus in the *Lyde*, Heracles
was put ashore because his weight was too much for the
Argo

9

The Same [the bulls of Aetes] Antimachus in the *Lyde*
makes the bulls the work of Hephaestus.

9A

Scholast on Nicander. Mosychlus is a mountain in
Lemnos, compare Antimachus.

like the fire of Hephaestus, which the God maketh
amid the loftiest peaks of Mosychlus.²

¹ cf *EM* 291. 19 ² a volcano; perh. from a descrip-
tion of the fire breathed by Aeëtes' bulls (*B*)

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

10

Sch. Ap Rh. 4 156 ἐν τούτοις καὶ τοῖς ἐφεξῆς φησι τὴν Μῆδειαν ἐπιρραίνουσιν ἀρκεύθω τὸ φάρμακον κοιμίσαι τὸν δράκοντα ἐπάδουσιν καὶ οὕτω τὸ κῶας ἀνελῆσθαι, καὶ χωρισθῆναι ἀμφοτέρους ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν κοιμωμένου τοῦ θηρίου, συμφώνως τῷ Ἀντιμάχῳ

11

Ibid 1153 Τιμαίου λέγοντος ἐν Κερκύρῃ τοὺς γάμους ἀχθῆναι, Διονύσιος ὁ Μιλήσιος ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν Ἀργοναυτικῶν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ φησὶν, Ἀντίμαχος ἐν Λύδῃ ἐν Κόλχοις πλησίον τοῦ ποταμοῦ μιγῆναι (τῇ Μηδείᾳ τὸν Ἰάσονα)

12

Ibid 259 Ἡσίοδος τε καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐν Πυθιονίκαις καὶ Ἀντίμαχος ἐν Λύδῃ διὰ τοῦ Ὀκεανοῦ φασιν ἔλθεῖν αὐτοὺς (τοὺς Ἀργοναυτας) εἰς Λιβύην, καὶ βαστάσαντας τὴν Ἀργὴν εἰς τὸ ἡμέτερον πέλαγος γενέσθαι.

13

Ibid. 2 296 Στροφάδας φησὶ κεκλησθαι διὰ τὸ τοὺς Βορεάδας αὐτόθεν ὑποστρέψαι, στραφέντας εἰς τοὐπίσω, λαβὼν παρὰ Ἀντιμάχου οὕτω γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ Λύδῃ περὶ αὐτῶν μέμνηται οἱ δὲ Στροφάδας φασὶν αὐτὰς κεκλησθαι καθὼς ἐπιστραφέντες αὐτόθι ἠϋξάντο τῷ Διὶ καταλαβεῖν τὰς Ἀρπυίας κατὰ δὲ Ἡσίοδον καὶ Ἀντίμαχον καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον οὐ κτείνονται.

Ibid 297 αἱ Πλωταὶ νῆσοι μετωνομάσθησαν Στροφάδες· μέμνηται αὐτῶν καὶ Ἀντίμαχος ἐν τῇ Λύδῃ.

14

Ibid 178 [Ἀγηνορίδης Φινεύς] Ἀγήνορος γὰρ παῖς ἐστίν, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος· ὡς δὲ Ἡσίοδος φησιν, Φοίικος τοῦ Ἀγήνορος καὶ Κασσιεπείας· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης καὶ Ἀντίμαχος καὶ Φερεκύδης φασίν.

14A

Prob ad Verg. *Æcl.* 10. 18 Adonis, ut Hesiodus ait, Phoenicis et Alpheisiboeae, Agenoris (Panyasis?) Thianis qui Histriam Arabiamque (Assyriam?) tenuit imperio, ut Antimachus ait, regnavit Cypro.¹

¹ cf. Apollod 3. 14 4

ANTIMACHUS

10

Scholast on Apollonius of Rhodes. In these and the following lines he describes how Medea, by sprinkling a juniper with the drug, sent the serpent to sleep under a spell and so carried off the Fleece, and they both went off to the ship while the beast was in this trance, here he follows Antimachus.

11

The Same. Timaeus says that the wedding of Medea took place at Corcyra, but Dionysius of Miletus in the second Book of his *Argonautics* brings them together at Byzantium, and Antimachus in his *Lyde* near the river in Colchis.

12

The Same. Hesiod, Pindar in the *Pythian Odes*, and Antimachus in the *Lyde* make the Argonauts come across the Ocean to Libya and carry the Argo over into our sea.

13

The Same. The poet says that these islands are called Strophades because the Children of Boreas turned back (*στρέφω*) at that point; here he follows Antimachus, who thus mentions them in the *Lyde*. Others say that they are so called because they turned there (*ἐπιστρέφω*) when they prayed Zeus that they might catch the Harpies. According to Hesiod, Antimachus, and Apollonius, they were not slain.

The Same [on the next line]. The name of the islands called *Plotae* or 'floating' was changed to Strophades: they are mentioned by Antimachus in his *Lyde*.

14

The Same [Phineus Agenorides]: According to Hellanicus he was the son of Agenor, but, according to Hesiod, of Phoenix son of Agenor and Cassiopeia, which is the view of Asclepiades, Antimachus, and Pherecydes.

14a

Probus on Vergil. Adonis, who was the son, according to Hesiod, of Phoenix and Alpheisiboea, and according to Panyasis (?), of Thias king of Assyria (?), ruled over Cyprus, according to Antimachus.

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

15

Et. Mag. Vet 265 Σήσαμοι καὶ Ἐρυθῖνοι χωρία Παφλαγονίας
οὓς Ἐρυθίνους φησὶν Ἀντίμαχος διὰ τὴν ἐρυθρότητα καὶ διὰ τὴν
τοιαύτην χροιάν¹

16

Sch. *Il.* 6 200 Ἀντίμαχος δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀύδῃ, ὅτι τοὺς Σολύμους
ἀνείλε (Βελλεροφόντης) θεοῖς ὄντας προσφιλεῖς, διὰ τοῦτο μιση-
θῆναι αὐτὸν φησὶν ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν.

Sch. *Od.* 5. 283 [ἐκ Σολύμων] τῆς Κιλικίας εἰσὶν ὅθεν καὶ οἱ
Σόλυμοι ὠνομάσθησαν ἀπὸ Σολύμου τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Καλχηδονίας, ὡς
Ἀντίμαχος λέγει.

ΔΕΛΤΩΝ

17

Ath. 7 300 d καὶ περὶ τὸν Εὐλέα² δὲ ποταμόν, οὗ μνημονεύει
Ἀντίμαχος ἐν ταῖς ἐπιγραφομέναις Δέλτοις οὕτως

ἐλθὼν Εὐλῆος³ πηγὰς ἔπι δινῆεντος

Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Σκῆψιος ἐν ἐκκαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ Τρωικοῦ Διακόσμου
ἐγγέλεις φησὶ διαφόρους γίνεσθαι

ΙΑΧΙΝΗΣ

18

Et Mag. 4 6 ἀβολήτωρ Ἀντίμαχος Ἰαχίνῃ*

τοὶ δ' ἄρα⁴ οἱ ἀβολήτορες ἄνδρες ἔασιν·

¹ prob corrupt, cf. Sch. *Ap. Rh.* ἐρυθρ τοῦ χρώματος εἰσὶ
γὰρ τοιοῦτοι ² Schw. mss εὐκλέα ³ Mein. mss
εὐλείας ⁴ mss ἄρ'

ANTIMACHUS

15

Old Etymologicum Magnum. Sesami and Erythini — Districts of Paphlagonia, Antimachus calls them Erythini because of the redness of their colour.¹

16

Scholast on the *Iliad* According to the *Lyde* of Antimachus, the reason why Bellerophon was hated by the Gods was that he slew the Solymi who were beloved by them.

Scholast on the *Odyssey* ['from the Solymi']. A people of Cilicia, hence called Solymi from Solymus the son of Zeus and Calchedonia, as we learn from Antimachus.

TABLETS

17

Athenaeus *Doctors at Dinner* With regard to the river Euleus, to which Antimachus thus refers in the poem called the *Tablets*

having come to the springs of the swirling Euleus Demetrius of Scepsis declares in the 16th Book of *The Trojan Catalogue* that it contains a peculiar sort of eel.

IACHINE

18

Etymologicum Magnum. ἀβολήτωρ . . . Compare Antimachus *Iachmê*.

Aye, and they are witnesses unto him ;²

¹ cf. Sch. Ap Rh 2 941, where the Erythini are called 'ridges', perh 'Antimachus' here is a corruption of 'Apollonius' (B) ² cf ἀβολέω 'to meet' Ap Rh 3. 1145 and ἀβολήτης 'a meeting' Antimachus (?) 108 Kinkel

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

οὕτως Φίλων¹ εἰς τὰ ῥηματικά² αὐτοῦ. ἀντὶ τοῦ μάρτυρες συνη-
λακότες καὶ συντυχόντες. οὕτως εἰς τὸν Διογενειανόν

19

Ostrac Berl 12605³ σοῦσα· σχοινία· Ὀμήρου· (*Od.* 21 390-1, reading [σοῦσον] for ὄπλον)· Ἀντιμάχου

ἐν δ' ἴστον θῆκεν, λαίφεσι δὲ λινέοις
σοῦς' ἐτίθει παντοῖα θεὰ πόδας ἠδὲ κάλωας,
ἐν δ' ὑπέρας στρεπτάς ὄπλα τε πάντα νέως.

20

Paus 9. 35. 5 [π Χαρίτων] Ἀντίμαχος δὲ οὔτε ἀριθμὸν Χαρίτων οὔτε ὀνόματα εἰπὼν Αἰγλης εἶναι θυγατέρας καὶ Ἡλίου φησὶν αὐτάς.

21

Hdn. π μ λ 2. 36. 31 [π τοῦ φάρος] καὶ οὐδέτερον, ὅποτε σημαντικὸν τοῦ ἱματίου ἢ καὶ τοῦ ἀρότρου, ὡς καὶ παρ' Ἀλκμᾶνι, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' Ἀντιμάχῳ Ἀεὶ, κτλ οὕτως ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις εἴρηται·

ἀεὶ φάρεος χατέουσιν ἐκόντες.⁴

22

Choerob. 1 139. 17 ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι εὐρίσκονται καὶ ἄλλα ἱαμβικά μὴ ἔχοντα ἐπ' εὐθείας τὸ τ καὶ εἰς τὴν ου δίφθογγον ἔχοντα τὴν γενικήν· εἰσὶ δὲ ταῦτα· . . Πύδης Πύδου (ὄνομα ποταμοῦ) ὡς παρὰ Ἀντιμάχῳ·

καδ δὲ Πύδην τε ῥέοντα⁵ [over]

¹ mss also Φιλόξενος ² mss also sing ³ Wil. *Sitzb. ber. Berl Akad.* 1918. 741, cf. Hesych. οὔσα σχοινία νεὼς ὄπλα
⁴ Lehrs· ms χατεύουσιν ἔχων ⁵ mss also καδδ' ἐπύδη ῥέοντα

ANTIMACHUS

So Philon in his *Verbs*. The meaning is 'men who have covenanted or met with' So in Diogenian.

19

Inscription on a Potsherd, of the 3rd century B.C. . Σοῦσα : 'ropes', compare Homer: (two lines giving an otherwise unknown reading), Antimachus:

And the Goddess set therein a mast and all manner of cordage for linen sails, both sheets and reefing-ropes, and twisted braces also and all the furniture of a ship.

20¹

Pausanias *Description of Greece*: Antimachus, who gives neither the number nor the names of the Graces, makes them daughters of Aeglè or Daylight and the Sun

21

Herodian [the word *φάρος*] It is neuter when it means a garment or a plough as in Alcman (fr 1), and also in Antimachus the copies give

they are ever in willing need of a garment.

22

Choeroboscus It should be noted that there occur other iambic words that have not *τ* in the nominative and yet make their genitive in *ου*, they are these Πύδης Πύδου 'Pydes' (name of a river), as in Antimachus:

and Pydes flowing down [over]

¹ I add here certain fragments which may belong either here or with the Epic Fragments (see p. 505) see also *A.P.* 9. 321

•

ELEGY AND IAMBUS

τοῦτο δὲ ἐναντίως ἔκλινεν ὁ Ἀντίμαχος ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἱαμβικόν ἐστιν
ἰσοσυλλάβως αὐτὸ κλίνει ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς λεχθείσης χρήσεως, ὅτε δὲ
σπονδειακόν ἐστι, περιττοσυλλάβως αὐτὸ κλίνει οἶον·

Πύδητος κούρη τηλεκλειτοῦ ποταμοῖο

23

Hesych.

Εἰσκονιανοί

οἱ Ἐφέσιοι, ὡς Ἀντίμαχος.

ANTIMACHUS

This word was declined inconsistently by Antimachus, who when it is iambic declines it without increase as above, but when it is spondaic declines it with increase as in this :

daughter of the far-famed River Pydes

23

Hesychius *Glossary* .

Eisconiani

the Ephesians, as in Antimachus.

END OF VOL. I

APPENDIX

SOLON

30A

Joan. Diaconus in Hermogenem π μεθ δευ ap. Rabe *Rhevn. Mus.* 63 150 τῆς δὲ τραγωδίας πρῶτον δράμα Ἀρίων ὁ Μηθυμναῖος εἰσήγαγεν, ὥσπερ Σόλων ἐν ταῖς ἐπιγραφομέναις Ἑλεγείαις ἐδίδαξε.

John the Deacon on Hermogenes The tragic drama was first staged by Arion of Methymna, as we are told by Solon in the *Elegies* ascribed to him

It is suggested by Professor A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II 1095, that Solon's oath (see above, p. 107) began thus:

Πρὸς Διὸς ἱκεσίῳ καθαρσίῳ ἐξακέσαντος

that is, 'By Zeus the God of Suppliants, the Purifier, that hath healed us.' He compares Pollux 8 142 — 'Solon directs that an oath be taken to three gods, "Ἰκέσιος, Καθάρσιος, and Ἐξακεστήρ,"' and Hesychius τρεῖς θεοί — 'Three Gods: prescribed as an oath¹ on Solon's pivot-boards, but some explain this as referring to the Homeric oath (e.g. *Il* 2 371, by Father Zeus, Athena, and Apollo)'

¹ ὄρκος for mss ὄρκω ? *E*

TABLES

COMPARING, WHERE NECESSARY, THE NUMERATION
ADOPTED IN THIS EDITION (*E*) WITH THOSE FOLLOWED
BY BERGK IN HIS 'POETAE LYRICI GRAECI' OF 1882
(B_{GK}) AND DIEHL IN HIS 'ANTHOLOGIA LYRICA' OF
1922-5 (D_L).

TYRTAEUS

B _{GK}	<i>E</i>	B _{GK} .	<i>E</i>	<i>E</i>	B _{GK}	<i>E</i>	B _{GK} .
1	3	15	{ <i>L. G.</i> III	1	—	4	3
3	4	16	{ p 534	3	1	15	17

D _L	<i>E</i>	D _L .	<i>E</i>	D _L	<i>E</i>	D _L	<i>E</i>
1 _A	1	3a	{ 4	6	{ 10	9	12
1 _B	1 _A	3b	{ 7	7	{ 10	10	13
2	2	4	5	8	11	11	14

<i>E</i>	D _L	<i>E</i>	D _L	<i>E</i>	D _L	<i>E</i>	D _L
1	1 _A	4	{ 3b	6	{ 5	11	8
1 _A	1 _B		{ 3a	7	{ 12	12	9
2	2	5	4	10	6, 7	13, 14	10, 11

MIMNERMUS

B _{GK}	<i>E</i>	B _{GK}	<i>E</i>	B _{GK}	<i>E</i>	B _{GK} .	<i>E</i>
6	11	8	6	10	9	12	8
7	12	9	10	11	7		

E-Bgk]

MIMNERMUS

<i>E</i>	Bgk	<i>E</i>	Bgk	<i>E</i>	Bgk	<i>E</i>	Bgk.
6	8	8	12	10	9	12	7
7	11	9	10	11	6		
D1	<i>E</i>	D1	<i>E</i>	D1.	<i>E</i>	D1	<i>E</i>
6	11	9	{ 15	11	7	15	23
7	12		{ 16	12	10		
8	6	10	8	13	14		
<i>E</i>	D1	<i>E</i>	D1	<i>E</i>	D1	<i>E</i>	D1
6	8	10	12	14	13	23	15
7	11	11	6	15 }	9		
8	10	12	7	16 }			

SOLON

Bgk	<i>E</i>	Bgk	<i>E</i>	Bgk	<i>E</i>	Bgk	<i>E</i>
10	11	35	34 <i>fin</i>	41	42	42	{ <i>L G m.</i>
11	10	36 <i>fin</i>	37 <i>fin.</i>	43	8		{ p 576
28	30	37	36 <i>fin</i>				
<i>E</i>	Bgk.	<i>E</i>	Bgk	<i>E</i>	Bgk.	<i>E</i>	Bgk.
8	43	11	10	33 _A	33 _n	42	41
10	11	30	28	34 <i>fin</i>	35	43	p 60
D1	<i>E</i>	D1	<i>E</i>	D1	<i>E</i>	D1	<i>E</i>
1	13	7	19	20	26		{ 38
	{ 1	8	10	21	29	26	{ 39
2	{ 2	9	11		{ 20		{ 40
	{ 3	10	9	22	{ 21	27	{ 41
3	4	11	12		{ 18	28	31
	{ 28	12	25		{ 33		
4	{ 15	13	23	23	{ 32		
	{ 5	14	24		{ 33 _A		
5	{ 6	15	14		{ 34		
	{ 7	18	22	24	36		
6	30	19	27	25	37		

SOLON

[E-Dl.

E	Dl	E	Dl	E	Dl	E	Dl
1	2	12	11	22	18	32	23
2		13	1	23	13	33	
3		14	15	24	14	33A	
4	3	15	4	25	12	34	
5	5	16	16	26	20	36	24, 25
6		17	17	27	19	36, 37	
7		18	22	28	4	38	
9	10	19	7	29	21	39	26
10	8	20	22	30	6	40	27
11	9	21		31	28	41	

PHOCYLIDES

Bgk.	E	Bgk	E	E	Bgk	E	Bgk
16	2	17	16	2	16	16	17
Dl	E	Dl	E	Dl	E	Dl	E
2	3	6	2	11	9	15	13
4	5	9	10	13	14	16	15
5	6	10	16	14	11		
E	Dl	E	Dl	E	Dl	E	Dl.
2	6	6	5	11	14	15	16
3	2	9	11	13	15	16	10
5	4	10	9	14	13		

XENOPHANES¹

Dl	E	Dl	E	Dl	E	Dl	E
9	10	15	17	21	25	27	31
10	11	16	18	22	26	28	32
11	12	17	21A	23	27	29	33
12	14	18	22	24	28	30	34
13	15	19	23	25	29	31, 32	35, 36
14	16	20	24	26	30	33, 34	37, 38

¹ Bergk omits the *Lampoons* and the poem *On Nature*, for these I follow the order of Diels in his *Vorsokratiker*, save that my 21B is his 21A, my 21A his 42, and my 42 his 45

E-Dl.]

XENOPHANES

<i>E</i>	Dl	<i>E</i>	Dl	<i>E</i>	Dl	<i>E</i>	Dl
10	9	17	15	25	21	31	27
11	10	18	16	26	22	32	28
12	11	21 _A	17	27	23	33	29
14	12	22	18	28	24	34	30
15	13	23	19	29	25	35, 36	31, 32
16	14	24	20	30	26	37, 38	33, 34

ION OF CHIOS¹

Dl	<i>E</i>	Dl	<i>E</i>	<i>E</i>	Dl	<i>E</i>	Dl
3	5	6	3	3	6	6	4
4	6	7	8	4	5	8	7
5	4			5	3		

CRITIAS

Dl	<i>E</i>	Dl	<i>E</i>	<i>E</i>	Dl	<i>E</i>	Dl
1	1	5	6 _A	1	1	5	6
2	3	6	5	2	4	6	7
3	4	7	6	3	2	6 _A	5
4	2	8	7	4	3	7	8

E Bgk
8, 9 p 283

ANTIMACHUS

<i>E</i>	Bgk	<i>E</i>	Bgk.	<i>E</i>	Bgk
14 _A	p 293	17, 18, 20	p 292	21-23	p 293

¹ for Bergk's 8 see ION OF SAMOS

LIST OF NEW FRAGMENTS

FRAGMENTS NOT INCLUDED IN BERGK'S EDITION OF
1882

TYRTÆAEUS	XENOPHANES	HIPPARCHUS
1	10	26
1A	11	27
—	12	28
	13	29
	14	30
MIMNERMUS	15	31
23	16	32
—	17	33
	18	34
	19	35
SOLON	20	36
28A	21	37
28B	21A	38
28c	21B	39
30A	22	40
36 1-2	23	41
37 6	24	42
37 9-10	25	

FRAGMENTS NEWLY RESTORED *EXEMPLI GRATIA*
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¹ for PHILIADES see Bergk, p 378

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